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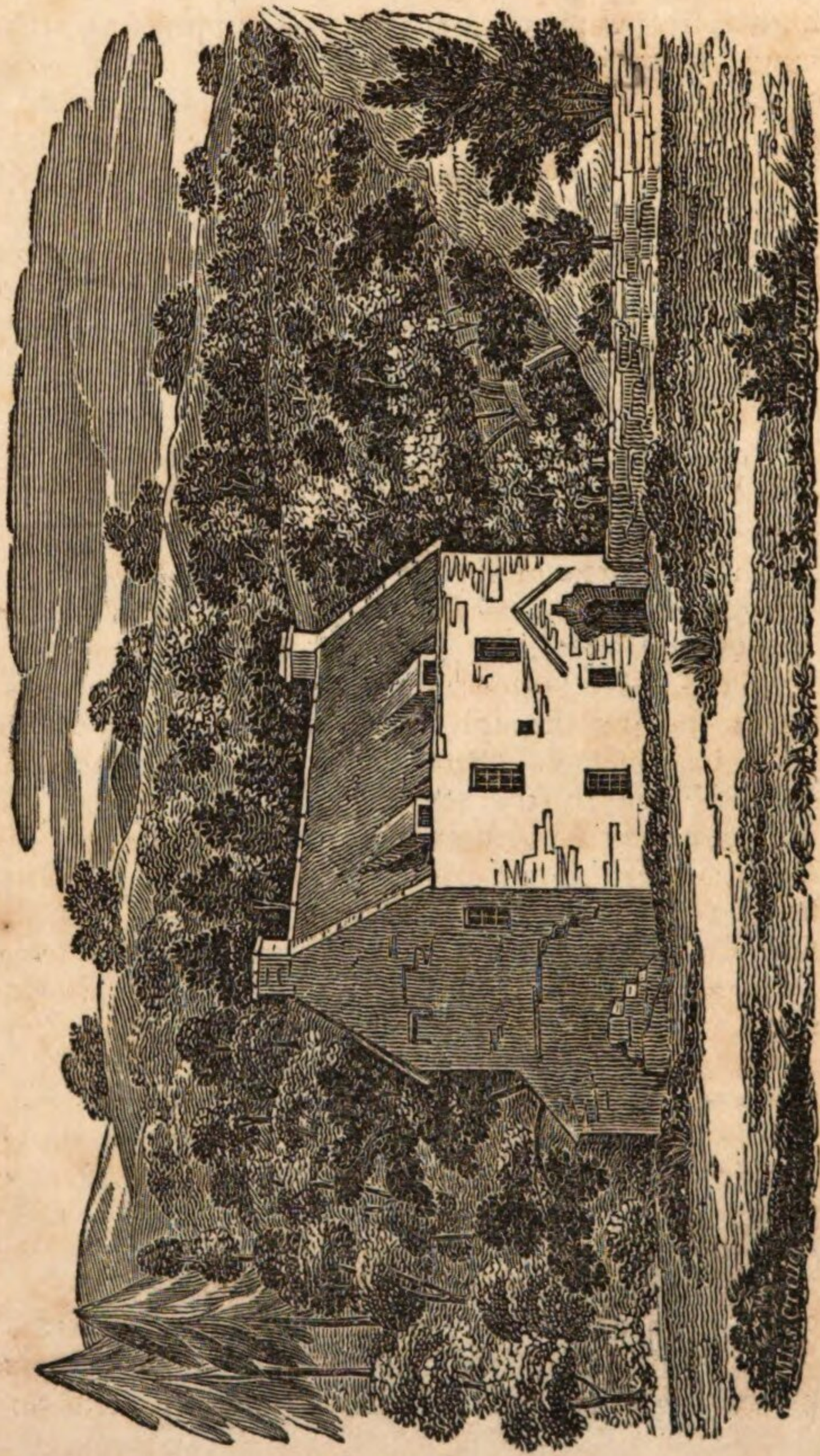
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THE
L I F E
OF
SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

THE
LIFE
OF
SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS





BUSHY-BIELD, THE RESIDENCE OF RUTHERFORD, WHILE MINISTER OF ANWOTH, (p. 358.)

1222

THE
LIFE
OF
SAMUEL RUTHERFORD,

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF ST ANDREW'S, AND PRINCIPAL
OF THE COLLEGE OF ST MARY'S.

WITH AN
APPENDIX.

BY
THOMAS MURRAY, F. A. S. E.

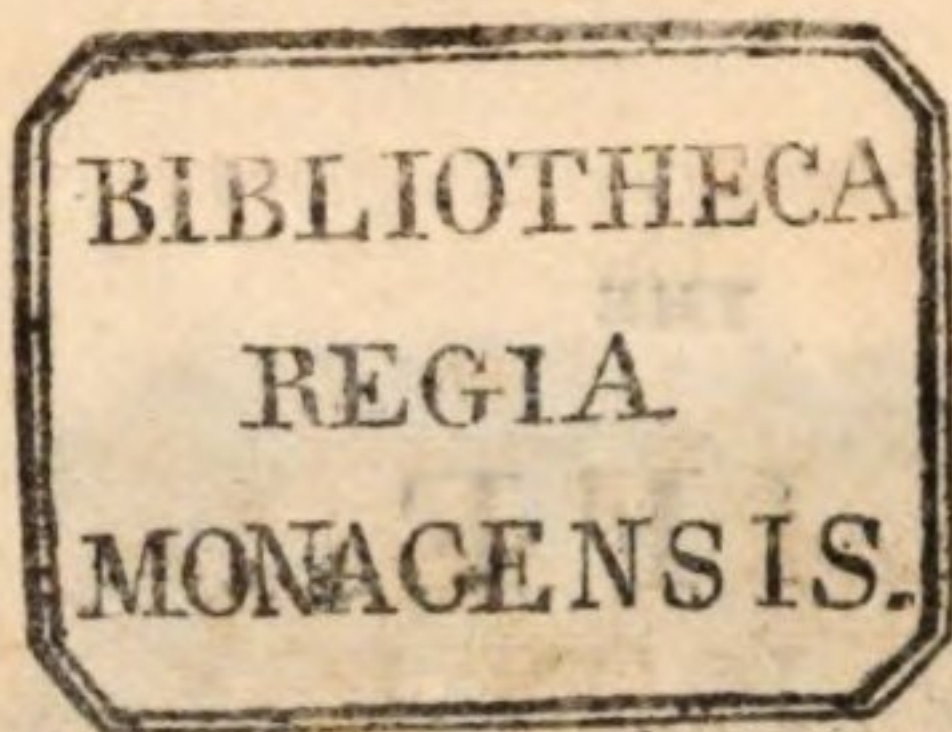
AUTHOR OF "THE LITERARY HISTORY OF GALLOWAY,"
&c. &c.

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TO
THE REV. JOHN LEE, D. D.
MINISTER OF LADY YESTER'S CHURCH,
EDINBURGH,
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS
FOR VISITING THE UNIVERSITIES
AND
COLLEGES OF SCOTLAND,
&c. &c.

THIS VOLUME
IS
INSCRIBED,
AS A TOKEN OF THE HIGH RESPECT
WHICH THE AUTHOR ENTERTAINS
FOR HIS
CHARACTER AND TALENTS.

TO

THE REV. JOHN LEE, D.D.

MINISTER OF LADY STREET'S CHURCH

GLASGOW.

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS

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&c. &c.

THIS VOLUME

IS

INCORPORATED

AS A TOWN OF THE HIGH WEST

WHICH THE NATION ENTERTAINS

FOR HIS

CHARACTER AND TALENTS.

PREFACE.

THE Life of SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, I have long regarded as a desideratum in our ecclesiastical literature. He occupied so prominent a place in the transactions of his times ; he laboured so assiduously and intrepidly, not only to achieve the triumph of Presbytery, but to expose and refute every system or doctrine that militated against it ; and the effects of his exertions, whether as a clergyman, a churchman, or an author, were so considerable, that it is not honourable to our church, that his personal history has not hitherto been investigated. This neglect is the more to be wondered at, as his life was of a chequered and inter-

esting character, and as an account of it affords an opportunity of laying before the public, many minute, though important details, calculated to throw light on the history of the period, which might not otherwise be revealed.—This desideratum I have endeavoured in some measure to supply. I have investigated every source, whence I thought materials might be obtained; and I have represented every transaction, whether of a private or public nature, connected with the subject, with all the impartiality of which I was capable. But whether the volume I have produced, do justice to the labour I have undertaken in the composition of it, or be in any respect worthy of the eminent person whose Life it proposes to delineate, is a question which, with deference, I leave to others to determine.

I have given several subsidiary and collateral notices; and I meant to submit a short biographical sketch of Robert

M^r Ward, of whom I have often had occasion to speak, and who, having been banished from Scotland at the Restoration, sought refuge in Holland, and became one of the ministers of the Scotch Church in Rotterdam. This intention, however, I was induced to lay aside, when I learned that the Rev. William Steven is about to perform the task in a more full and efficient manner, in an Historical Account of that Church since its institution in the year 1643, which he is soon to publish.

I have uniformly referred to the authorities which I consulted, except when the narrative was of a general nature, or when the substance of it was to be found in our common histories.

The names of several respectable individuals, to whom I have been indebted for information, I have taken an opportunity of mentioning in the course of the work. But I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of again stating the im-

portant obligations, under which, in this respect, I lie to the Rev. Dr Lee,—a gentleman eminent, not more for the uncommon extent and minuteness of his historical and literary acquirements, than for the liberality with which he is always ready to communicate the advantages of them to others.

EDINBURGH, 26th December, 1827.

THE
LIFE
OF
SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

CHAPTER I.

His Parentage,—Birth,—Education.—Elected Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh,—and Resignation of that office.

RESPECTING the parentage and birth-place of SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, there have been various conjectures. The editor of the first edition of his *Letters* merely mentions, that he was “a gentleman by extraction *;” a statement

* Rutherford's *Letters* were first published at Rotterdam, in 1664, under the superintendence of the Rev. Robert M'Ward, minister of the Scotch Church in that city. To this edition is prefixed an address, by the editor, to the “Christian Reader,” which contains many biographical notices.

that has been generally copied without inquiry or research. Mr Reid, indeed, brings forward a tradition, in which he places considerable confidence, that he was descended “of respectable parents in the parish of Tongland, near Kirkcudbright *.” This tradition, however, is not applicable to the subject of this memoir, but took its rise from the circumstance, that a person of the same name had once been minister of that parish †. In opposition to these opinions, it is mentioned by Wodrow, that he was sprung of “mean, but honest parents, in Tiviotdale ‡.” This statement is in part corroborated by recent inquiries; and it may at length be affirmed, that Samuel Rutherford was born in the parish of Nisbet, now annexed to Crailing, in the Presbytery of Jedburgh §.

* *Memoirs of the Lives of the Westminster Divines*, Vol. II. p. 345.

† Mr George Rutherford, minister of Tongland, to whom the tradition in question refers, died previously to the year 1668, as in this year Marion, Barbara, and Martha, his daughters, are retoured as his successors in the lands of Argrennan and Grayscroft, *Inq. Retor. Abbrev.* § Kirkcudbright.

‡ Wodrow's MSS. Vol. XL. 8vo. art. 5. Advocates' Library.

§ Letters from the Rev. Dr Somerville of Jedburgh, and from the Rev. David Brown of Crailing. Mr Brown states, “that he was born at Nisbet, where the house in which he was born, or at least a house situated on the same spot, is pointed out.” Rutherford himself, in a letter written in 1655, to the Rev. John Scot, minister of Oxnam, a parish belonging to the Presbytery in which

Of the rank and condition of his parents, we cannot, at this distance of time, give any authentic information. From the conflicting statements of M^cWard and Wodrow, nothing can be learned. Mr Brown, minister of Crailing, in a kind communication to the present author, represents his father as a farmer; and it is apparent, we think, that he was not in any inferior rank of life, both from the authority of M^cWard, and from the fact, that he was enabled to bestow on the subject of these pages a liberal education, and that (as we shall hereafter see,) he had two other sons in respectable situations,—one a schoolmaster in Kirkcudbright, the other an officer in the service of the Dutch. The date of his birth has not been ascertained; but as he is said to have entered college when young*, and as this took place in 1617, we may conclude, that he was born about the year 1600†, thus making him seventeen

Nisbet is situated, confirms these authorities; he is regretting his not being able to pay a visit to that quarter, and is speaking of the state of religion there; “My soul’s desire is, that the wilderness, and that place, (to which I owe my first breathing,) may blossom as a rose.” (*Letters*, Part III. § 60.)

* Wodrow, *ut supra*.

† This inference is corroborated by the authority of Nethenus, the editor of Rutherford’s posthumous work, entitled *Examen*

years of age when he commenced his academical studies.

At what seminary he obtained his early education, we must be content to remain in a state of uncertainty. Though so early as the year 1494, steps had been taken by the Scottish Parliament, to enforce the education of the sons of the higher classes, it was not till 1616 that an act of the Privy Council passed for establishing schools in every parish; nor was it till seventeen years afterwards, that the act was confirmed by Parliament. It is not probable, therefore, that, during Rutherford's boyhood, there was a school in the small parish of Nisbet; and accordingly, Mr Brown conjectures that he received his education at the school of Jedburgh, from which Nisbet was distant about four miles. Towns were the first places in which such institutions were known; and we find that long before this period, good schools existed in almost all the burghs of note in the kingdom *. What-

Arminianismi, (vide *Praefatio ad Lectorem*.) Nethenus obtained his information from M'Ward.

* Schools, even at the time of the Reformation, were established in most of the burghs; and in the beginning of the 17th century, before the Act of the Privy Council was made, existed also in many of the larger country parishes. (M'Crle's *Life of Melville*,

ever, in earlier times, were the privileges of Jedburgh in this respect, we find that, about the middle of the century to which our discussions refer, it could boast of a seminary of such eminence, that Andrew Rutherford, the master of it, was thought worthy of being translated from that situation to be rector of the High School of Edinburgh *.

But whatever school he attended, he early gave proofs, we are told, of great talents; which his parents perceiving, exerted themselves to bestow on him the advantages of a liberal education †. He was accordingly removed to the University of Edinburgh in 1617. For entering on an academical course in that age, higher attainments in the Latin tongue were requir-

II. notes L and N. *Memorial for the Bible Societies*, Edin. 8vo. 1824, pp. 27. 94.) This latter work, though published anonymously, is known to have been written by the Rev. Dr Lee. It contains more minute and interesting materials respecting the history of printing in Scotland, with various collateral literary notices, than are elsewhere to be found.

* Rutherford's translation took place in 1669. That he was schoolmaster in Jedburgh for a considerable time, is probable, as he had been then so long married as to have a large family. For this information, I am indebted to my respected friend, the Rev. William Steven, Scotch Church, Rotterdam; a gentleman who has made great researches into the history and progress of education in Scotland; and who, it is well known, is availing himself of the facilities which his residence in Holland gives him for collecting notices of the lives of the eminent Scotsmen, who, in the 17th century, sought refuge in that country.

† Wodrow, *ut supra*.

ed than are now absolutely necessary ; for not only the books that were read in the classes, but the lectures of the professors, were delivered in that language ; and each student, on his entrance, had to undergo a public examination relative to his fitness, in this respect, for following and understanding the prelections of his teachers. This examination, which took place in the month of November, was considerably rigid. The young men being assembled in the common hall, in the presence of the principal of the college, and the professors, or regents as they were then denominated, a theme in the Scottish language was prescribed to them, to be converted into Latin. Three hours, from nine o'clock till noon, were allowed them to perform this exercise ; one of the regents attending, to see that no collusion or mutual assistance took place, and to receive the exercises when finished. To each performance the author was required to affix his name, and that of "the master by whome he was trained up in the Latin." The themes were, severally, read aloud by the young men in the afternoon, when the principal and regents again at-

tended; and “if any of the number were found so badly grounded in the Latin, that there was no hope of his profiting, he was admonished to return to the study of the Latin tongue, untill he be more able*.” This plan is entitled to great praise, being calculated not more to call forth and to ensure the ardent application of scholars, than to stimulate, and, in some measure, to reward, the industry and talents of teachers.

The system of education pursued in this University, when Rutherford entered it, we shall endeavour briefly to state. Division of labour was nearly unknown, and had been very slowly introduced. On the first institution of the College, there was but one teacher, the amiable and celebrated Robert Rollock; a second was soon after added; then a third; and for some years before the time of which we treat, there were six,—the principal, who was also professor of divinity; four regents of philosophy; and a regent of humanity. Each of the regents of philosophy conducted his class for four successive years, including, in his course of instruction, al-

* Crawford's *Hist. of the Univ. of Edinburgh*, pp. 57, 58.

most every department of science and literature,—the classics, logic, metaphysics, ethics, and physics. The Ramean philosophy was that which at this time prevailed both in the University of Edinburgh, and in the other colleges of Scotland. Andrew Melville, who had attended the lectures of Ramus, in the University of Paris, introduced his opinions and views into his native country, and thus displaced the Aristotelian philosophy, which had so long enslaved and captivated the human mind. The Ramean system of Dialectics had many faults ; but it was productive of incalculable good. It attacked and destroyed the authority of the Stagyrte : it exploded the idle speculations and absurd jargon of the ancient logics ; it taught men to think for themselves, and to examine, impartially, every principle and opinion, ere they admitted their truth or usefulness ; and though its great influence has long disappeared, and it is spoken of merely as a matter of literary history, it possessed the distinction of effecting a complete and beneficial revolution in the philosophical condition of Europe *. Rollock,

* *Ib. ib.* pp. 58, 59.—*M'Crie's Life of Melville*, Vol. I. pp. 23, 24. Vol. II. 302—308.

who was the first regent in the University of Edinburgh, introduced this system into his new charge, from St Andrew's, where he had studied, and afterwards been professor of humanity. It continued to be taught for more than half a century after this date ; and editions of the Dialectics of Ramus issued from the press so late as 1637 and 1640.

The regents of philosophy, each giving instruction in such a variety of topics, cannot be supposed to have excelled in all, or even in a majority of the subjects they were required to teach. But their deficiencies, whatever they were, were amply compensated by the length of time devoted to teaching, and by the rigour of the discipline which they exercised. The Session extended from October till August, ten months in the year ; and the young men were obliged to be eight or ten hours a-day in their respective class-rooms in the presence of their professors, either hearing prelections, or, divided into companies, holding disputations on the subjects which their teachers had already discussed. The principal object of education, in these days, seems to have

been to form expert disputants, and subtle dialecticians ; and hence, in this University, not only were several hours a-day set apart for disputations, but the students of the different classes, from the month of January till July annually, had daily conferences for this purpose,—each class successively proposing a thesis, while the regents presided in rotation. Discipline of every kind was extremely vigilant and strict. As the young men, on their first entering college, had to undergo an examination relative to their attainments in the Latin tongue, the several students, on the commencement of each Session, had to go through a similar ordeal, in order that the progress they had made during the preceding year might be ascertained. These examinations were conducted, not by the regents, under whom the classes had respectively studied, but by the others,—thus constituting each professor, in his turn, the judge of the labours and success of his colleagues *. Of the trials to which the students were subjected at the end of their course, when they graduated,

* Crawford's *Hist. of the Univer. of Edinburgh*, pp. 57—59.

or took the degree of A. M., we shall have occasion hereafter to speak.

In addition to these four regents of philosophy, there was, as mentioned above, a professor of Humanity, whose province it was to teach Latin, and prelect on Roman literature, as also, in a subsidiary degree, to give instructions in the Greek tongue. How many hours each day his class met, or how many years his course lasted, we are not told. But as Latin, at that period, was regarded as an object of higher moment than at present, inasmuch as the books used in the various classes, and as the lectures of the professors were in that language, and as the students adopted it in all their disputations, and even in conversation while under the eye of their teachers, if not also in their familiar intercourse with each other, it is probable that two years at least, at the rate of several hours attendance each day, were devoted to the study of it *. Latin was written by Scotchmen, in that age, with various degrees of purity certainly, but with as much fluency as their vernacular tongue ;

* Bower's *Hist. of the Univer. of Edinburgh*, Vol. I. p. 128.

and some of our Latin compositions, both in prose and verse, of that and the preceding century, have probably not been excelled by those of any modern nation.—“Literature, soon after its revival, found its way to Scotland; and from the middle of the sixteenth century, almost to the middle of the seventeenth, the politer studies were very diligently pursued. The Latin poetry of *Deliciae Poetarum Scottorum*, would have done honour to any nation: at least, till the publication of May’s *Supplement*, the English had very little to oppose*.” Of these scholars not a few, we shall see, were at this period connected with the College of Edinburgh.

There was no separate class of Greek at this time, nor indeed till the year 1708; but from the institution of the College, it had been regularly taught, both by the several regents of philosophy during the first years of their course, and by the professor of humanity. The students required to be well versant in this language ere the commencement of the second year, as at that

* Johnson’s *Works*, London edition, 1806. Vol. VIII. p. 210.
Borríchii Dissertationes Academ. de Poetis, Frankfort, 1683, 4to.

time their trial exercise consisted in translating a theme from Latin into Greek. Hebrew was, at first, taught by the professor of divinity ; but as the time set apart for it, which was only one day in the week, was found to be insufficient for making any substantial progress, a chair for that language, and for oriental literature, was established in 1642, Julius Conradus Otto, a learned foreigner, being appointed the first professor*.

The professors under whom Rutherford studied, were Andrew Stevenson, regent of humanity, and Andrew Young†, one of the regents of philosophy ; men of great respectability as teachers, though not much known as authors. As a proof of the popularity of Young as a teacher, it may be mentioned, that his classes were usually fuller than those of the other regents ; that his class,

* *Records of the Town-Council of Edinburgh*, vol. xv. p. 219.

† Young and Rutherford were natives of the same county, the former being "born of mean parents, nigh to Jedburgh," (Crawford, 52.) In *The Muses' Welcome*, (published in 1618, by John Adamson, after principal of the College,) is a Latin poem, written by *Andreas Junius*. In the same work is a Latin poem signed *Andreas Stephanides*. Stevenson, it may be mentioned, was decidedly favourable to the Presbyterian cause ; for when his colleagues in the University were prevailed on by the Court, in 1635, to lay aside the Confession of Faith, which had before been annually subscribed by the graduates, on their taking their degree, he stood alone in protesting against the measure ; and Presbytery having become triumphant in 1638, he was, the subsequent year, settled minister of Dunbar, in which situation he continued till his death, (ib. 126, 137.)

which graduated in 1617, amounted to forty-six, and that the one which Rutherford attended, was within four of that number,—these two being the largest (with the exception of Rollock's in 1587, which amounted to forty-eight) that the College had yet witnessed *. After an attendance of four years, he became Master of Arts in 1621. The trials necessary to obtain this degree, were considerably severe. Previously to the day of graduation, the candidates underwent an examination on the various branches which they had studied, conducted by all the regents, with the exception of the one by whom the class had been taught. On the night before the graduation, when the students were assembled in the presence of the principal, and the whole of the regents, for the purpose of subscribing the Confession of Faith, and of coming under a solemn engagement to be dutiful to the college, a report was made by the regents on their proficiency in the various departments of study, and their names were enrolled in the records of the college, accord-

* Crawford's *Hist.* p. 81. 93.

ing to their respective merits. The regent, under whom the class had studied, drew up a Thesis, which was to form the subject for public disputation, on the day the ceremony was to be performed*. The meeting, which was generally attended by the Officers of State, by the members of the College of Justice, and other distinguished persons, assembled at an early hour, and the forenoon was spent in propugning or defending the Thesis. The meeting having separated, again convened in the afternoon, and the candidates now oppugned or attacked the thesis; after which (generally about six o'clock,) the principal conferred on them the degree of Master of Arts †.

What rank Rutherford held in his class

* These Theses, which were composed in Latin, contained an abstract of the studies in which the classes had been respectively engaged, during the four years of their course. They are distinguished by that unmeaning jargon that characterised the science and philosophy of these days; but they are also marked, in general, by great learning and metaphysical acumen, of which the Theses of Young, in 1613, afford a striking instance. In many respects they form valuable documents; but their containing a list of the students of the year to which they severally refer, impart to them a peculiar value. They began to be printed as early as 1596, and continued annually about a century. They were first printed in a quarto form; and before the year 1641, they had assumed a folio shape. They originally varied from 16 to 40 pages; but when they had settled in a folio form, their extent was gradually contracted, till at last they occupied only one page. There is not a full collection of them in the University Library. Some of the earliest are in the possession of Mr David Laing, to whose kindness I am indebted for a perusal of them.

† Crawford, 59—62.

is not told ; but we may conclude that his progress, particularly in classical literature, was great, from the circumstance, that, at the end of two years after his graduation, he was elected professor of humanity. The situations in the University being at that time filled up by comparative examinations, programs were issued, inviting scholars to come forward on this occasion as candidates. Four appeared, of whom Rutherford was one ; two of them being his seniors,—the other, of the same standing, having graduated in 1621. As this was originally intended for a law class, though it had never been used as such, commissioners appointed by the Lords of Session, by the Advocates and Writers to the Signet, attended as judges. Though the examination for the humanity chair was afterwards very rigid, consisting of a trial in the most difficult Latin and Greek authors, *ad aperturam libri*, yet at this time it was extremely easy. An ode of Horace was prescribed to the candidates, which, after some days' preparation, they had to explain and comment upon for the space of forty-five minutes. The result has already been mentioned ; for “ although Mr Will

(one of the masters of the High School) pleased the judges most, for his experience and actual knowledge, yet the whole regents, out of their particular knowledge of Mr Samuel Rutherford, demonstrated to them his eminent abilities of mind, and virtuous disposition, wherewith the judges being satisfied, declared him successor in the profession of humanity *."

At the time when Rutherford became a regent in the University, though it had been instituted only for forty years, it had attained to no inconsiderable distinction, and could boast of having had some celebrated men in the list of its professors †. His colleagues also were men of some degree of eminence ‡. He thus possessed

* Crawford, 96, 97. The class which became that of humanity, was at first (1590) intended for law; but from some misunderstanding between the founders of it, namely, the Lords of Session, the Town-Council, the Advocates, and Writers to the Signet, the original purpose was never carried into effect. The two first professors, Adam Newton and Adrian Damman, (the election of the first of whom being undue, he was ejected from the office in 1594,) taught humanity, and not law; and in 1597, the "annual" of the sum, (3000 pounds Scots,) at first set apart for the maintenance of a professor of laws, was diverted from its original destination, two-thirds of it being employed to support six bursars, the remainder to afford a salary to a professor of humanity. The election to this office was vested in six commissioners, two for the Lords of Session, two for the Town-Council, one for the Advocates, and one for the Writers to the Signet, "using the assistance of the principal," (*ib. apud annos 1590, 1597.*)

† *Vide* Appendix, Note A.

‡ These were John Adamson, principal, author of the *Muses' Welcome*, and other works; James Reid, author of three poems,

every inducement to discharge, with faithfulness and zeal, the important duties he had undertaken. And from the enthusiasm and energy of mind, by which, as we shall see, he was afterwards distinguished, and from a wish, which he must have felt, to support the rising fame of the institution of which he was a member, he was, we may believe, an assiduous and useful teacher. But of this we are left to form our opinion merely on conjecture, for his connection as a professor with this seminary lasted little more than two years; as, according to Crawford, "Mr Samuel Rutherford having given some scandal in his marriage, was forced to dimit his charge" towards the end of the year 1625 *. This part of his history, the only instance in which his biographer and admirers have cause to blush and feel ashamed, I would delight if I could pass over in silence. The records of the city of Edinburgh have been examined relative to it,

one of them in Greek, published in *The Muses' Welcome*; James Fairley, author of two poems, printed in the same work, and afterwards Bishop of Argyle; William King, author of two poems, under the signature of 'Ιλερμος Βασιλειος, inserted in the same work, and afterwards minister of Cramond; and Andrew Stevenson, already mentioned. With the exception of Stevenson, they all took a part in the theses discussed before the king at Stirling in 1617, (*Muses' Welcome*, p. 221.—Crawford's *History*, p. 81.)

* Crawford's *History*, p. 104.

and candour requires me to state, that Crawford did not make the charge unwarrantably. The crime, however, of which he was guilty, cannot have been of so heinous a nature as from Crawford's expression we may be led to suppose. His enemies, notwithstanding the obloquy which they poured upon him, never branded him at any period of his life with this "scandal." The Town-Council, the patrons of the University, granted him "an honest gratification at his dimission." And not only was he soon afterwards promoted to a pastoral charge, through Gordon of Kenmure, the friend of Welsh, Gillespie, and Livingstone; but at a subsequent period, he was warmly solicited by the magistrates and the presbytery of Edinburgh, to become one of the ministers of that city,—an arrangement meant as preparatory to his being made professor of divinity in the University, so soon as a vacancy should take place *. Kenmure was too judicious a man, and felt too deeply interested in the cause of presbytery, to select an improper person

* The Town-Council actually elected him one of the ministers of the city; but the General Assembly preferred the counter-claims of St Andrews, whither he was removed, (*Records of the City of Edinburgh*, 27th February 1639.)

for the sacred profession; and at the time (1638-9) when Rutherford was petitioned to go to Edinburgh, prelacy being newly overthrown, *purity of character* was of more vital and indispensable importance than any other recommendation.

Nor is this all. The allegations in question were never substantiated by evidence. So soon as the report began to circulate, Rutherford seems to have voluntarily resigned his situation in the College; and though the subject is introduced into the minutes of the town-council, it is mentioned, not as a matter of fact regularly authenticated, but in consequence of an application made by Principal Adamson, for commissioners to be nominated to investigate the subject. Before this application took place, however, Rutherford is stated to have "dimitted his charge;" nor does he appear to have expressed any wish to resume it; and the commissioners, so far as we now know, did nothing but elect a new regent to fill the vacant office. The probability, therefore, is,—and it is the only way in which we can account for the silence of Episcopal writers on the subject, and his subsequent advance-

ment and high name in the Church,—that the report was at length ascertained to be either false and unfounded, or grossly exaggerated; and that he had withdrawn from the University, not in consequence of guilt, but from motives of delicacy, being resolved, that however he might suffer in his private capacity, the College should not be injured or brought into discredit on his account*.

In opposition to what has been stated, it may indeed be said, that, if innocent, he would not have avoided any investigation that could have taken place, or rather would have courted it, in justice to his own character. We are alive to the force of this remark, and feel and regret that suspicions so unfavourable attach to his memory; but we mean not to come forward as apologists for vice. To maintain a good report, and to keep himself unspotted from the world, should, as much as possible, be the object, as it unquestionably is the duty, of every individual; and on the present occasion, we concur with every good man, in mourning and condemning the step, of which, it may

* Appendix, Note B.

be, Rutherford was guilty,—a step, the very report of which, had not his character in other respects been unusually pure, might ever after have blasted his prospects, and impaired his usefulness *.

* Baillie's *Letters and Journal*, II. 342. *Records of City of Edinburgh*, vol. XII. 323. *Crawford's History*, *ut supra*.

CHAPTER II.

Rutherford studies Divinity.—Inducted Minister of Anwoth, without any engagement to the Bishops.—The State of the Church at this time.—His faithfulness and success as a Minister.—His domestic circumstances.

RUTHERFORD resigned his charge in the University of Edinburgh, in the end of the year 1625, and we have no account of him for the subsequent two years. In what manner he gained a livelihood, or if his wife* brought him any fortune, we have no information. But, however he was supported, he was, it is certain, devoting his time to the study of theology, under Andrew Ramsay. It is not unlikely, indeed, that he had commenced this study while he officiated as regent of humanity; for the incomes derived from the University, were in these days so

* Eupham Hamilton, whose name merely is mentioned in the *Town Records*, and of whom nothing farther can be ascertained.

small *, that the regents, while they conducted the business of a class, were themselves attending the lectures of the professors of divinity; and they resigned their situation in the College, not merely for livings in the Church, but sometimes for grammar-schools †.

The doctrines which bear the name of Calvin, (that celebrated divine being the best and most able expounder of them,) were at this time prevalent in all the Scottish Universities, particularly in that of Edinburgh. These doctrines, indeed, were closely incorporated with the very existence of this seminary, and since its institution had been most assiduously taught in it. It owed its origin, in truth, to persons of Calvinistic principles ‡; and in two years after

* The income of the regent of humanity was 150 merks annuallty, or about £ 8 Sterling. The other regents had somewhat more; but they all lodged in the College, so that they underwent no expense for house rent. Sometimes, when the plague or a famine (both very common in these days) took place, the regents obtained what Crawfurd calls "an honest assistance" from the town, (Crawfurd, 38, 41.) It is uncertain whether any fees were paid by the students, but probably none; at least, if any, they must have been very trifling, (Bower's *History*, i. 77.) There is no mention of fees, either in the *City Records*, or in the *History* of Crawfurd.

† John Ray went from the regency of humanity, to the High School, in 1606; Thomas Crawfurd, successor to Rutherford, did the same in 1630; and Archibald Gibson, one of the regents of philosophy, embraced an invitation to the grammar school of Canongate in 1638, (ib. 64, 117, 129.)

‡ These were the Rev. James Lawson, the successor of Knox as one of the ministers of Edinburgh; the Rev. Walter Balcanqual,

its foundation, the Principal, and Duncan Nairne, his only colleague, subscribed the National Covenant; and it was enacted, that previously to graduating, every candidate for that dignity should be required to follow this example *. Ramsay, under whom Rutherford studied, adopted and inculcated the same opinions. Though he inclined towards Episcopacy, a system which in after-life his pupil, the subject of this memoir, attacked and condemned, he neither took the oath of supremacy to the king, nor ceased to expose the heresy and corruptions of the times; and at a subsequent period, after he had retired from the University, having been elected minister of the Greyfriars, he resisted the introduction of the liturgy into Scotland, and opposed the election of a person, suspected of Arminian principles, as professor of divinity, whom the high Episcopalian party wished to elevate to that office †.

also one of the ministers of Edinburgh; William Little, afterwards provost of the city; and his brother, Clement Little, the latter of whom, by making a present of his own books, was the founder of the University library, (Crawfurd, 19, 20.)

* Ibid. 29.

† Stevenson's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, II. 260, 483. Crawfurd, 114, 115, 131. Ramsay, however, on account of his attachment to Prelacy, was deposed by the Assembly in 1649. The triumph of Presbyterian principles seems to have soured his temper

Nor was it only from the professor of theology that students obtained instruction in divinity. This instruction was also more or less combined with the peculiar duties of their philosophical pursuits ; for, on every Wednesday at three o'clock, the Principal delivered a lecture on some theological subject, to the whole of the students assembled in the public hall. On Sunday morning, at seven o'clock, they read the Scriptures in their several class-rooms, before their regents, and afterwards, in company with them, went to church, from which they returned to college, and had to give an analysis of the sermon they had heard, and the portion of Scripture they had perused in the morning *.—Thus were the young men of those days trained to habits of seriousness and devotion ;—thus may not merely the literary, but biblical and theological attainments of the Scottish clergy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, be satisfactorily accounted for ;—and thus also may the torch of

in his old age ; “ he carried himself,” says Baillie, “ in a cankered untoward way,” (*Baillie's Letters*, II. 338.)

* The place of worship where the professors and students attended, in the time of Rutherford, was the Trinity College Church. It was previously the High Church ; and afterwards Lady Yester's. (*Crawfurd*, 53. *Bower's Hist. of the Univer.* i. 112.)

piety, which, in their more advanced years, gilded and illumined their way amid the persecutions they encountered, have first been lighted in their bosom.

Under such circumstances it was, that Rutherford commenced and completed his theological studies at college, and from the eminence to which, as a polemical divine, he afterwards attained, it is evident that he had prosecuted them with diligence and success. And having thus qualified himself for being a useful minister of the gospel, his next object was to procure a pastoral charge. Nor was this, in these days, when the vineyard was extensive, and the labourers few, a matter of great difficulty. At what period he had received licence as a preacher of the gospel, we are not told; but in the year 1627, we find him settled minister of Anwoth, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright*; a living which he obtained through Gordon of Kenmure. Anwoth had not, till this date,

* The date of Rutherford's induction to Anwoth has not hitherto been ascertained. The date given in the text is derived from a Petition of the inhabitants of Anwoth to the Commission of the General Assembly, in 1638, praying that Rutherford might not be removed from them, in which it is stated, "that Maister Samuella has servit the cuir [of Anwoth] thir ellevin yeares by-gane," (Original in Wodrow's MSS. vol. LXII. article 53. See also his *Letters*, (part i. § 14.) in which he corroborates the accuracy of this date.

been a separate parish *, but had been united to Kirkmabreck and Kirkdale, in the latter of which the place of worship stood; nor was there a church in Anwoth, till one was built immediately before Rutherford's removal thither †. John Livingstone, afterwards minister of Ancrum, was the person whom Kenmure first designed to set over this newly erected parish; but circumstances occurred in the life of that eminent clergyman, that prevented such an arrangement: and "thereafter," says he, "the Lord provided a great deal better for them; for they got that worthy servant of Christ, Mr Samuel Rutherford, whose praise is in all the reformed churches ‡." As the object of Kenmure was to procure for a parish, situated as the one in question was, and in which himself resided, the most able and promising clergyman, when Livingstone could not be obtained, Rutherford appeared the fittest

* Livingstone's *MS. Life*, Adv. Library, p. 10. Anwoth, however, was in every respect a distinct parish, (and had, before the Reformation, been a dependency on the monastery of St Mary's Isle,) except that, *quoad sacra*, it was united to Kirkdale and Kirkmabreck, which parishes were under the ministry of only one clergyman. The people of Anwoth had sermon only every alternate Sunday, "by reasone of ane most inconvenient unione with uther twa kirkis," (*Petition of the inhabitants of Anwoth, ut supra.*)

† Livingstone's *MS. Life*, *ut supra.*

‡ *Ib.*, *ib.*

after him for this important charge,—thus owing his appointment to the character he had established for piety and talents.

Before proceeding farther, it may not be unnecessary to mention the circumstances in which the Church of Scotland was placed when Rutherford became minister of Anwoth. The Presbyterian form of polity and worship, introduced from Geneva, after struggling long for the ascendancy, had been established by Act of Parliament in 1592. The king, however, afraid that the popular and democratic nature of this polity would be incompatible with his prerogative, and being also secretly attached to Episcopacy, endeavoured gradually to undermine its foundation, and to erect his favourite system on its ruins. The plans he pursued for this purpose were perfidious and artful. He attempted to corrupt and gain over the more moderate and ambitious of the clergy; to prevent, on various pretexts, the annual meeting of the General Assembly, as had been fixed by the Act of 1592; and to arrogate to himself the sole right of convoking that judicatory; and the assemblies that had met without his authority, he declared illegal,

and the ministers who had attended them, rebels. In 1605, six clergymen were tried before the Court of Justiciary for attending an Assembly, held at Aberdeen, without the royal permission; and, through the undue influence of the crown, being declared guilty of high treason, the sentence of death would, it is thought, have been carried into effect, had not a strong expression of popular feelings forced the king to adopt a more mild punishment; and they were banished his majesty's dominions for life. Others, who had attended the same assembly, after suffering imprisonment, were torn from their parishes, and confined to remote parts of the country, there to remain, under pain of death, during the king's pleasure. Thus, by arbitrary proceedings on the one hand, and by bribery and corruption on the other, a modified species of Episcopacy was introduced. In 1606, the bishops were, by act of Parliament, restored to all their civil privileges and honours; and, in an Assembly, held the year following at Linlithgow, it was agreed that they should, in like manner, be invested with spiritual dignity and authority; and that they, or those whom

they might appoint, should be constant moderators in the inferior courts within their respective bounds. This latter enactment, the object of which could not be misunderstood, was so unwelcome to the Church, that few Presbyteries, and no Synod, except that of Angus, consented to act upon it.

But arbitrary power was not to rest satisfied with this unsettled state of matters. In 1610, the High Commission Court was introduced, in imitation of that which Henry VIII., in the frenzy of his zeal against the Papal faith, had instituted in England. Of these courts, there were at first two, one in the diocese of St Andrew's, the other in that of Glasgow, in each of which the archbishop of the bounds presided, assisted by such clergymen and laymen as he chose to nominate. These two were afterwards united; but, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe, every prelate was, at a subsequent period, allowed to hold a similar court within the bounds of his diocese. The object of these tribunals was the trial of all persons, particularly clergymen, preachers, and teachers in schools or universities, sus-

pected or accused of immorality and irreligion, or teaching what the bishops might reckon erroneous doctrines. The king, however, whatever reason he assigned for establishing them, meant to convert them into an engine of oppression both in spiritual and political affairs. And thus, says an excellent judge, the bishops “soon exhibited themselves, not as the fathers of those whose spiritual interests they should have promoted, but as the tame agents of despotism, undertaking the administration of a court which struck at the foundation of liberty, and which tended to destroy that sense of independence, and that consciousness of security under the protection of law, without which there is no just government, and no tie of allegiance *.” This much being gained, there was but one step more, namely, the sanction of a General Assembly, to complete the object which the king had had so long in contemplation. Nor was this long wanting. For in a meeting of that Court, held at Glasgow in the year last mentioned, and composed of the constant moderators of

* Cook's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. II. pp. 221-2.

the inferior courts, and of ministers who had been induced, either by bribery* or servility, to promote the views of the sovereign, it was enacted that the General Assembly could not be called but by the king, and that, if it met without his authority, it was illegal, and its proceedings null and void; that in the inferior courts, the prelates, or deputies appointed by them, should, as formerly enacted, be constant moderators; that all presentations to vacant benefices should be addressed to them; that ordination could not take place unless consummated by a bishop; that the bishops should have the sole right of visitation; that no clergyman could be deprived of his benefice without their sanction; and that to them every clergyman, on his entrance, should swear obedience and subjection.—Nor were these all the encroachments that took place. Commissary courts were suppressed, and the functions which, since the Reformation, had belonged to them, were

* “The Earl of Dunbar (his Majesty’s Commissioner) distributed among the most needy and clamorous of the ministry forty thousand merks in money, to facilitate the matter, and obtain their suffrages.” (Crawford’s *Lives of Officers of State*, p. 398.) This Assembly was called the *Angelical* Assembly, in allusion to the denomination of the corn distributed on the occasion. (*Life of Melville*, Vol. II. p. 391.)

transferred to the bishops. Bishops were again restored to a seat in Parliament; and clergymen were declared eligible as privy councillors, lords of Session, and judges in the Court of Exchequer. It was also entrusted to the bishops to determine or modify the stipends of the clergy; a circumstance which, more than any other, contributed to their influence, and of which they did not fail to avail themselves, so as most effectually to accomplish the establishment, and to ensure the recognition of their favourite polity.

Such is an imperfect sketch of the way in which the Presbyterian system was overthrown; a system which had received the sanction of Parliament,—to which the king himself had promised to adhere “as the sincerest kirk in the world,” “so long as he brooked his life and crown*,”—and which was closely entwined around the consciences and predilections of the great body of his Scottish subjects. The prelates took advantage of the pre-eminence thus conferred upon them; and though many clergymen, in

* Crookshank's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 13.

spite of every obstacle, steadily maintained Presbyterian principles, and adhered to the simplicity and purity of Presbyterian worship, and resisted, or at least did not recognize, the jurisdiction of the bishops, yet prelacy became more and more deeply rooted, and at the time when Rutherford became minister of Anwoth, seemed to be almost completely triumphant.

Whether Rutherford, on his going to Anwoth, received episcopal ordination, and acknowledged episcopal authority, is a question that has often been agitated.—Though many of the Presbyterian clergy who had been admitted into the Church before the establishment of prelacy, continued after this to retain their livings without any compromise of principle, yet it is reasonable to suppose, from the domination to which the bishops were now raised, and which they were not remiss in exercising, that no new minister could obtain a charge without acquiescing in all the conditions, and submitting to all the shackles which Episcopacy required. There seem, however, from particular circumstances, to

* Livingstone's *MS. Life*, p. 7.

have been some deviations from this established practice *. And of these the case before us is recorded as one. Mr M'Ward, the pupil and friend of Rutherford, to whom the truth must have been well known, unconditionally states, that he entered to his charge "by the means of that worthy nobleman, my Lord Kenmure, without giving any engagement to the bishop *." Wodrow corroborated this opinion †. And Stevenson mentions, that "until the beginning of the year 1628, some few preachers, by moyen [influence,] were suffered to enter the ministry without conformity, and of this number we suppose Mr Rutherford may be reckoned, because he was ordained before the doors came to be more closely shut upon honest preachers ‡." Rutherford, besides, entertained so inveterate a dislike to Prelacy, and was so ardently attached to Presbytery, that we cannot suppose him to have accepted a living at the expense, or by the compromise, of his most deeply rooted principles. Nor indeed did the episcopal writers of that age, though eager to avail themselves of every circumstance in his life

* Preface to First Edition of *Letters*.

† Wodrow's *MSS.* Vol. XL. art. 5. ‡ Stevenson's *Church Hist.*

that could operate against him, ever lay such a dereliction to his charge. Nor, though ready on all occasions to confess every species of error (however slight,) into which he may have fallen, did he ever acknowledge or allude to any such compliance as that now spoken of. On the contrary, he expressly declares, in a letter from Anwoth, that “the great master-gardener, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in a wonderful providence, planted me here, where, by his grace, in this part of his vineyard I grow *.”

And at another period, he gives it as his decided opinion, that “the lawfull calling of ane pastor to the flock of Christ, requireth the consent, vowes, and approbation of the people and presbyterie †.” The truth, in fine, seems to be, that Andrew Lamb, then bishop of Galloway, and the friend of Kenmure, was induced by that gentleman, and by Lord Kirkcudbright, a zealous Presbyterian, and possessed of great estates in the parish of Anwoth, to relax, in this instance, the authority with which the law invested

Letters, part III. § 17. — † Wodrow's *MSS.* vol. LXII. art. 55.

him, and to connive at the Presbyterian ordination and non-conformity of Rutherford.

Never did any clergyman enter upon his sacred trust under happier auspices, or with more flattering prospects of success. The inhabitants of Anwoth had previously had sermon only every alternate week; a circumstance which they seem deeply to have felt and lamented. "Our soules," they say, "were under that miserable extreame famine of the word, that we had onlie the puir help of ane sermone everie second Sabbath *." To obtain the exclusive ministration of a clergyman of their own choice, as Rutherford was, must, under such circumstances, have been reckoned by them an invaluable blessing; and, at the same time, have induced them to regard his labours of love with peculiar docility and gratitude, and have animated and rewarded his zeal in the discharge of his duties. Never can the tie which binds pastor to people be more tender or strong, than when, as in this case, the latter are sensible of their ignorance

* *Petition of the inhabitants of Anwoth, ut supra.*

and need of instruction, and “receive with meekness the ingrafted word;” while the former, the object of their affections, “instant in season, and out of season,” “studies to shew himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.”

At the time of which we are treating, the doctrines of the gospel had obtained a surer footing in Anwoth, and were more assiduously cultivated, than has yet been stated. For, under the ministry of William Dalglish, their former clergyman, not only the great body of the people, but the proprietors and higher orders, had embraced these doctrines, and exhibited a correspondent walk and conversation. In ordinary cases, the irreligion and infidelity of the influential ranks, or even the attacks (however able and specious,) of infidel writers, cannot deeply or permanently affect the credit and authority of the Christian dispensation, or impair the number of its votaries. It is established on too firm a foundation; it accords too evidently with the circumstances of human nature; it comes recommended to us in terms too tender and powerful, to be sensibly af-

fectured by the neglect of any one class, however high, or be assailed even with partial or temporary success. But though not materially injured by the neglect or assault of the rich and learned, its progress and its power may be eminently promoted by their example and influence. This happy result would have taken place more easily at the time to which we refer, than at any subsequent period. The lower orders were then more obsequious, and more under the power of their landlords and superiors. Feudal allegiance and attachment were prevalent; and the relative importance and situation of the different classes of society, were not fully understood. Under every circumstance, however, the people of that age, in religious matters, asserted the utmost liberty of conscience. They judged and decided for themselves; but if their rulers, or those on whom they more immediately depended, had happily imbibed those sentiments, and displayed that conduct which, in their opinion, the volume of inspiration enforced, their piety and zeal received a fresh stimulus, and assumed a character of benignity and meekness, more becoming the spirit of the gospel. This was

eminently the case in the parish in question. The landlords* were all characterized by the same sentiments on the subject of divinity and ecclesiastical polity, that Rutherford himself entertained, and which, at a future period, were agreed upon as the doctrines of our national Church; sentiments, indeed, that first recommended him to their notice, and that induced them to adopt the steps necessary to his induction as their minister †. They duly appreciated the professional worth and literary attainments, of their new pastor; they were not only hearers, but doers of the word; and while they thus strengthened his hand and animated his zeal, they pointed out the way of righteousness to their inferiors and dependants, and by walking in it themselves, threw a lustre and dignity over it, which it could not otherwise have possessed. In such a happy state of things, a faithful pastor and

* The remarks in the text, though applicable to all the heritors and higher classes, are particularly so to John Gordon of Kenmure, (afterwards ennobled by the title of Viscount Kenmure,) and his lady. These two persons were so intimately connected with the subject of the memoir, that their names will frequently occur in the course of our narrative. (*Petition of Anwoth, ut supra.*)

† Rutherford's stipend consisted of 200 merks Scots, (about £11 Sterling,) derived from the teinds of the parish, and of a voluntary contribution on the part of his hearers, (*ib.*)

a docile people, pure and undefiled religion seems to have flourished to an extent very uncommon, and certainly not attainable under less auspicious circumstances. "It hath pleased God," said his flock, "so to evidence his calling heir by his blessing upon his labours amongst us, the consequence whereof we find to be ane mutuall unione of our heartis between him and us *." "While he was at Anwoth," says Livingstone, "he was the instrument of much good among a poor ignorant people, many of which he brought to the knowledge and practise of religion †."

Rutherford, indeed, on entering on his pastoral charge, was resolved, under divine providence, to avail himself of the opportunities of doing good he enjoyed, and to exert himself so that nothing should be wanting, on his part, to realize the expectations, which, in calling him to the ministry, the people of Anwoth had formed of him. And accordingly he exhibited, in the exercise of his important functions, a degree of industry and zeal that

* *Petition of Anwoth.*

† *Livingstone's Remarkable Observations upon the Lives of the most Eminent Ministers and Professors in the Church of Scotland, MS. Adv. Library, Rob. 3. 2. art. Mr Samuel Rutherford.*

is almost incredible. He was accustomed to rise every morning at three o'clock: the early part of the day he spent in prayer, in meditation, and study; and the remainder of it was devoted to his more public duties,—to the visitation of the sick, the afflicted, and the dying, and to the examination and encouragement in godliness of the different families of his congregation*. Whether he had public sermon, or exercise, in the church, on any day except Sabbath, we are not told. It is doubtful, indeed, whether such a practice would have been convenient or profitable in a parish situated like Anwoth, which was mountainous and extensive, and but thinly inhabited, and in which there was no village. Such a plan, however, was generally pursued by the more pious clergymen of that age. John Welsh, minister of Ayr, preached publicly every day; and John Livingstone, while at Stranraer, set apart an hour every morning for reading the Bible to his people, and for illustrating it†. Rutherford, whether he adopted a similar procedure, was not inferior to any of

* *Ib. ib.*† *Literary History of Galloway*, pp. 123-4.

his brethren in industry, nor less frequent in prayer for the best interests of his flock. They were the cause and objects, he tells us, “ of his tears, care, fear, and daily prayers ;” he laboured among them “ early and late ;” and “ my witness is above,” he declares to them, “ that *your* heaven would be two heavens to *me*, and the salvation of *you* all, as two salvations to *me* *.”

Nor were his labours and usefulness confined to the inhabitants of Anwoth. People from many of the neighbouring parishes resorted to his preaching, and in consequence of the paucity of faithful ministers, he was often invited to officiate, and occasionally to dispense the sacrament in the adjoining churches. “ He was a great strengthener of all the Christians in that country, who had been the fruits of the ministry of Mr John Welsh, the time he had been at Kirkcudbright † ;” “ the whole country indeed were to him, and accounted themselves, as his particular flock ‡.” There were, however, still a few clergymen in this pro-

* *Letters*, part I. § 2.

† Livingstone's *Remarkable Observations*, *ut supra*. Mr Welsh had left Kirkcudbright about 27 years before Rutherford became minister of Anwoth. (*Hist. of Galloway*, 123.)

‡ Preface to first edition of his *Letters*.

vince, such as William Dalglish of Kirkma-
breck, John M'Lellan of Girthon, and Ro-
bert Glendinning of Kirkcudbright, who, in
spite of every obstacle, continued faithful to
Presbyterian principles and doctrines. But
many parishes were either vacant, or were
filled with minions of the bishop ; and as the
people, with extremely few exceptions, were
decidedly in favour of the tenets, both eccle-
siastical and theological, of the non-confor-
mists, they thought no journey too long, or
no labour too great, that enabled them to
enjoy the ministration of their favourite
pastors *. Nor was it to the lower orders
alone that his services were so welcome
and acceptable. Between him and the high-
er classes also, an intimate Christian con-
nexion obtained. Almost every individual
of this rank, in the county in which he lived,
had embraced Presbyterian doctrines, and
many of them, at a subsequent period, suf-
fered martyrdom in the support of what they
believed the truth ; and we learn, both from
his *Letters*, and from the great exertions

* "Of quhom Rutherford was the principall." (*Reasons why
Rutherford should not be translated from Anwoth*, anonymous,
Wodrow's MSS. Vol. LXII. art. 56.)

which, as we shall see, they made to retain him in Galloway, when the General Assembly wished to remove him from it, that they regarded him as the minister not merely of the parish over which he more immediately presided, but of the whole province, and as the spiritual teacher, guide, and comforter of each of them.

But eminence and worth, however great, will not exempt from the sorrows and sufferings of humanity ; and Rutherford, while he must have been gratified in being the instrument of so much good, and in the esteem and admiration which were so extensively shewn him, was doomed to experience deep family distress and bereavement. His wife, after a tedious and severe illness of thirteen months, died in the month of June 1630, in less than five years after their marriage *. Her protracted sickness was the source of much anxiety and anguish to him. “ My wife’s disease,” says he in a letter to one of his most valued friends †, “ increaseth daily to her great torment and pain, night and

* *Letters*, part II. § 8.

† Marion M’Knaught, wife to William Fullerton, Provost of Kirkcudbright. A short account of Mrs Fullerton may be found in a note, (p. 63—5.) to *The Last and Heavenly Speeches of Lord Kenmure*, recently edited by the present Author.

day ; she has not been in God's house since our communion, neither out of her bed. I have hired a man to Edinburgh to Dr Jeally and John Hamilton. I can hardly believe her disease is ordinary, for her life is bitter to her ; she sleeps none, but cries ; * * what will be the event, he that hath the keys of the grave knows. * * I believe the Lord's tide of afflictions will ebb again, but at present I am exercised with the wrestlings of God, being afraid of nothing more than this, that God has set loose the tempter upon my house. *God rebuke him and his instruments.* Because Satan is not cast out but by fasting and prayer, I intreat you remember our estate to our Lord, and intreat all good Christians whom ye know, but especially your pastor, [William Glendinning of Kirkcudbright,] to do the same *." In another letter to the same friend, " my wife," he observes, " is still in exceeding great torment night and day. Pray for us, for my life was never so wearisome to me. God hath filled me with gall and wormwood ; but I believe, (which holds up my head above the

* Letters, part III. § 24.

water,) *It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth**.” When her death had taken place, he seems to have borne it with pious resignation, though in no part of his correspondence that is preserved, is the subject particularly alluded to. In a letter to Lady Kenmure, he says, “the Lord hath done it, blessed be his name †;” and four years after the event, he speaks of her as having been “the delight of his eyes,” and of the wound which her death had occasioned, as not being “yet fully healed and cured.” Even at the end of nine years he uses similar language, and remembers with intense grief the bereaving dispensation with which he had been visited ‡.

This marriage had been productive of children, though, so far as we now know, they had all predeceased their mother; and when bereaved of his wife, Rutherford was left alone without any pledges of their love to engage and interest his affections. And to add to his distress, he had been seized previously to her death with a fever, which continued for thirteen weeks, and which,

* *Letters*, part III. § 26. See also § 2. † *Ib.* art II. § 8.
‡ *Ib.* *ib.* § 18, 19, 25.

when it was removed, left him in a state of such debility, that for some time he was able to preach “but once on the Sabbath, with great difficulty,” and able neither to visit nor examine his congregation *. Amid these afflictions his mother lived with him, having left Nisbet in consequence, it is supposed, of her husband’s death, and come to end her days under her son’s roof; but instead of affording him comfort, she seems rather to have added to his anxiety and distress, for she was old and infirm, and apparently following fast her departed relative to the grave. “God, knowing my present state, and the necessities of my calling, I hope will spare my mother’s life for a time, for the which I have cause to thank my Lord.” “My mother is weak, and I think shall leave me alone; but I am not alone, but Christ’s Father is with me †.” And though she may for a while have survived her daughter-in-law, her death, we know, took place previously to 1636, when Rutherford was removed from Anwoth. He had a brother, also, at this time a teacher in Kirkcudbright, who frequently visited him. He en-

* Ib. ib. § 8.

† Ib. part III. § 7. 12.

tertained for him the greatest esteem ; and from his sympathy and affection he must have derived much consolation.

His small family-circle generally included the only daughter of Mrs Fullerton (Marion M'Knaught,) of Kirkcudbright ; between whom and Rutherford a most intimate and pious connexion subsisted from the time he came to Anwoth, till her death in 1643. "Blessed be the Lord," says he, "that in God's mercy, I found in this country such a woman, to whom Christ is dearer than her own heart, when there be so many that cast Christ over their shoulder*." In the spiritual welfare of his young guest, he appears to have placed the deepest interest. "Your daughter," says he, in a letter to Mrs Fullerton, "desires a Bible and a gown ; I hope she shall use the Bible well, which if she do, the gown is the better bestowed." "I am in hopes," he observes in another letter to her mother, "that the seed of God is in her, as in one born of God. * * I have her promise she shall be Christ's, for I have told her she may promise much in his worthy name ; for he becomes caution

* Ib. part II. § 6.

to his Father for all such as resolve and promise to serve him *.” And the tender regard he thus expressed for the daughter, was extended to the whole of Mrs Fullerton’s family. “ I pray for you, with my whole heart and soul, that your children may walk in the truth, and that the Lord may shine upon them, and make their faces to shine, when the faces of others shall blush. I dare promise them in His name whose truth I preach, if they will but try God’s service, that they shall find him the sweetest master that ever they served ; and desire them from me, but to try for a while the service of this blessed Master, and then, if his service is not sweet, if it afford not what is pleasant to the soul’s taste, change him upon a trial, and seek a better. * * If I have any credit with your children, I intreat them in Christ’s name, to try what truth and reality is in what I say, and leave not his service till they have found me a liar. I give you, your husband, and them, to His keeping, to whom I have, and dare venture myself and soul, even to our dear Friend Jesus Christ, in whom I am †.”

* Ib. part III. § 1. 23.

† Ib. ib. § 17.

I have thus endeavoured to give a minute account of Rutherford's domestic circumstances, because such an account is calculated to throw great light on his character, and to present it to us in a view equally new and amiable. And as his private history has not hitherto been investigated, this and every attempt that may be made in the course of our narrative, to supply this defect, will, it is hoped, not be regarded as either superfluous or uninteresting.

CHAPTER III.

Death of Lord Kenmure.—State of the Church.—

Rutherford's Eminence as a Churchman.—Author of a Work against Arminianism.—Invited to be Minister of Kirkcudbright.—Persecuted by the Bishop of Galloway.—Deprived of his Ministry,—and confined to Aberdeen.

THE names of John Gordon of Kenmure and his Lady, have already been introduced to the reader. They at first lived at Rusco, in the parish of Anwoth; they were persons of eminent piety and worth; and by their example and influence, co-operated with Rutherford in promoting the interests of religion among his flock. At the end of two years after his induction, they removed to Edinburgh, where, or at Kenmure Castle, twenty miles from Anwoth, they afterwards resided. On their departure, Rutherford bids them “for ever farewell in paper, having small assurance ever to see their face

again, till the last General Assembly, when the whole Church universal shall meet *.” Their absence indeed he laments extremely, and regards as the severest trial he had experienced since he entered on his ministry. But he kept up a regular correspondence with them, particularly with Lady Kenmure, on religious subjects. He assures her that he can never be unmindful of her ; for that her general kindness, and above all, her sympathizing and pious attentions to him when he was labouring under family affliction, had given her a place in his memory and affections, which could never be obliterated ; and that his constant prayer would be, that the Christian graces and dispositions which she had exhibited before she left the country, might be more and more cultivated and improved. On their return from Edinburgh, and settlement at Kenmure Castle, he thus addresses her Ladyship :—“ I bless our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath brought you home again to your country, from that place where ye have seen with your eyes that which our Lord’s truth taught you before, *to wit*, that worldly glory is nothing but a

* *Letters*, part II. § 5.

vapour, a shadow, the foam of the water, or something less and lighter, even nothing; and that our Lord hath not without cause said in his word, *the countenance and fashion of this world passeth away* *."

Gordon had meanwhile been elevated to the peerage under the title of Viscount Kenmure; and though he still retained the theological and ecclesiastical principles which he had before professed, and in which he had been educated, and which his union with a lady of congenial sentiments had rendered if possible more sacred, yet having received such marks of favour from his sovereign, he did not think himself warranted in opposing the measures of the court relative to the Church; and in consequence, under pretence of indisposition, he withdrew (1633,) from his attendance on Parliament, and retired to his seat in the country. The enactments of this Parliament were, as shall soon be more minutely stated, as hostile to the Presbyterian polity as any measures of that House had formerly been; and though Kenmure did not at first seem

* *Letters*, part II, § 13.

impressed with a proper sense of his unmanly dereliction of duty, yet, when he perceived the ruinous tendency of these enactments, and that the more faithful both of the clergy and laity, even of the highest ranks, had made the most strenuous, though ineffectual exertions to expose and obviate their effects, his conduct appeared to him in its true light; he felt the most poignant sorrow and remorse for having proved a traitor to so good a cause; and on his death-bed, about a year afterwards, (September 1634,) “I have found,” he confessed, “the weight of the wrath of God for not giving testimony for the Lord my God, when I had occasion once in my life at the last Parliament, for which fault how fierce have I found the wrath of the Lord! my soul hath raged and roared; I have been grieved at the remembrance of it. * * For all the world, I would not do as I have done *.”

The circumstances connected with the death of this nobleman must not be passed over in silence, both as they are illustrative of the triumph of faith in an eminent Chris-

* *The Last and Heavenly Speeches, and Glorious Departure, of John, Viscount Kenmure.*

throwing light on the character of the subject of this narrative. Rutherford had accidentally come to Kenmure Castle, (on returning from Irvine, where he had been paying a visit, it is supposed, to the celebrated David Dickson, minister of that place,) at the time his Lordship's disease was beginning to assume an alarming aspect; and on being urgently entreated to remain, attended him till his death, which took place about a fortnight afterwards, (12th Sept. 1634.) Kenmure rejoiced at the arrival, at so interesting a conjuncture, of a clergyman whom he loved so much, and in whose religious services and conferences he had formerly taken such delight; and he immediately introduced the subject of his apprehended dissolution. "I never dreamt," says he, "that death had such a terrible, austere, and gloomy countenance. I dare not die; howbeit, I know I must die *." The minister proceeded with great earnestness and judgment, to show him the sources whence his fear of death took its rise, and to unfold to him the principles and views which, under such circumstances, the

* *Last and Heavenly Speeches*, p. 50.

gospel inculcates and requires. And notwithstanding some doubts and misgivings, which Rutherford succeeded most effectually in removing, and the interference of a clergyman of less sound views, he accomplished such a happy reformation in the sentiments and hopes of this nobleman, that his death has ever been regarded as conspicuously that of the righteous. A few minutes before his departure, Rutherford asked him if he should pray. "He turned his eye to the pastor, not being able to speak. In the time of that last prayer, he was observed joyfully smiling, and looking up with glorious look. * * The expiring of his breath, the ceasing of the motion of his pulse, corresponded exactly with the Amen of the prayer,—and so he died sweetly and holily, and his end was peace *."

Robert Gordon having asked his Lordship, "What comfort have you in bringing this pastor who attends you to Galloway?" "God knoweth," he answered, "that I rejoice that ever God did put it in my heart so to do; and now, because I aimed at God's glory in it, the Lord hath made me to find

* *Last and Heavenly Speeches*, p. 114.

comfort to my soul in the end. I would counsel all men that think to die, to lay up many good works against the time of departure; the ministers of Galloway murdered my father's soul, and if this man had not come, they had murdered mine also *."

"He gave his Lady diverse time, and that openly, an honourable and an ample testimony of holiness and goodness, and all respective kindness to her husband, and craved her forgiveness earnestly where he had offended her, and desired her to make the Lord her comforter, and said he was but gone before, and it was but fifteen or sixteen years up or down †."

Rutherford lamented the death of his patron in an elegiac poem, written in Latin ‡; and in 1649, he published "The Last and

* Ib. p. 106. Kenmure, besides bringing Rutherford to Galloway, seems to have taken steps, though without success, to obtain the establishment of a more "powerful ministry" in that province. *Letters*, part II. § 1.

† *Last and Heavenly Speeches*, p. 102. Mr George Gillespie, afterwards one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and one of the commissioners to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, had for some time previously to this date, resided at Kenmure Castle, in the capacity of domestic chaplain. To him his Lordship thus addressed himself: "You have carried yourself discreetly to me, so that I cannot blame you. I hope you shall prove an honest man. If I have been at any time harsh to you, forgive me. I would I had taken better heed to many of your words, I might have gotten good by the means God gave me, but I made no use of them." (Ib. p. 92.)

Mrs Fullerton, "who was a good Christian," "attended him continually at his own desire." (Ib. p. 63.)

‡ Appendix, Note C.

Heavenly Speeches, and Glorious Departure, of John Viscount Kenmure;" a work from which the foregoing particulars are obtained, and which contains a minute and interesting detail of the conferences which Rutherford held with that nobleman, on the most important of all subjects,—death and salvation. The narrative is in every point of view most striking; it is given in language distinguished alike for simplicity and pathos; and the discussions which it embraces, are allied more to heaven than to earth, exciting emotions of a character peculiarly solemn and sacred *.

The death of his patron had the effect of enhancing, if possible, the interest which Rutherford took in the spiritual welfare and comfort of his widow. His letters to her on the death of her husband, and subsequently, on that of her only surviving son, who died a minor, as well as his whole cor-

* This interesting little work was first published at Edinburgh in 1649, extended to thirty pages small quarto, exclusive of seven pages of a Dedication "For the whole nobility of Scotland, and others having voice in Parliament or Committees." It was printed anonymously, but has been uniformly ascribed to Rutherford; a point which I venture to hope has been rendered apparent in the preface to the edition of that work, published a few months ago, by the present writer. To this edition are prefixed, "Memoirs of Lord Kenmure," containing a concise account of the public transactions in which that nobleman was called upon to engage. This Tract was extremely rare until the appearance of the edition in question.

respondence with her, breathe a spirit of the most elevated piety. Their intimacy, indeed, seems to have increased with years; and one of the last letters he wrote was to this excellent lady *. She was distinguished not more for piety, than for generosity and munificence, its general concomitants. Her bounty was in a particular manner extended to those whom sufferings for conscience-sake had reduced to poverty or exile. And in another part of this narrative, we shall find that, after Rutherford's death, she was not unmindful of those whom that event had deprived of their natural guardian.

During the sitting of the Parliament, from an attendance on which Kenmure had withdrawn, Rutherford was in Edinburgh with other eminent Presbyterian ministers; and with them, it is probable, took a part

* It may not be unimportant to mention, that Lady Kenmure was sister to the celebrated Marquis of Argyle, who was executed in 1661, for his adherence to Presbyterian principles, and to the Solemn League and Covenant. After the death of her first husband, she was married to the Honourable Henry Montgomery, second son to the Earl of Eglinton, "an active and faithful friend of Christ's kirk," (Rutherford's *Letters*, part II. § 40.) whose religious views were congenial to her own. She was soon left a widow a second time, in which state she lived till a very venerable age, being alive in the year 1672; but how long she survived that period I have not ascertained, (*Memoirs of Lord Kenmure*, prefixed to *The Last and Heavenly Speeches*, pp. 35-7.)

in preparing the petition which they endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to get laid before that court. Nor indeed had they remained inattentive to the success of their cause till this time. Charles I. soon after he came to the throne, (1625,) had announced his intention of enforcing observance of the Articles of Perth *, which were so obnoxious to the Presbyterians, and had intimated his approbation of the innovations which his father had made on the ecclesiastical polity established in 1592. But he had as yet taken no active steps in regard to these matters. There were not wanting, however, symptoms of the arbitrary conduct which he afterwards pursued. He was in all ecclesiastical matters guided solely by Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; a man who had espoused Arminian doctrines, which were directly the contrary of those that obtained in Scotland; who shewed an inveterate zeal for the splendour and supremacy of the Episcopal order, and

* The Five Articles of Perth, (enacted by the General Assembly which met at Perth in 1618,) were, 1. Kneeling at the Sacrament; 2. Private Communion; 3. Private Baptism; 4. Confirmation of Children; 5. Observance of Holidays. These articles were repealed by the Assembly of 1638. (Calderwood's *History of the Church*, pp. 697—713. Spottiswood's *History*, pp. 538, 539.)

was anxious to accomplish an assimilation of the Scottish Church, as to ceremonies and discipline, with that of the sister kingdom. During the reign of James, vacant sees had been supplied by the selection of a proper person made by the king from a list of candidates given in by the bishops ; and as the bishops were intimately acquainted with the predilections and antipathies of the people, whom (while they were anxious to promote the views of the sovereign,) they wished not to irritate, but to soothe and gain over, the list seldom contained the name of any individual whose character and principles were peculiarly obnoxious ; and thus some shew of respect and deference was paid to popular opinion. But, through the instigation of Laud, this judicious practice was now entirely laid aside ; and those only of the clergy were chosen for preferment, who, in imitation of that prelate, had imbibed Arminian sentiments, and were known to be favourable to the innovations which it was intended to introduce. These new prelates, such as Sydserff, bishop of Brechin, afterwards of Galloway, spurned that deference to popular sentiment which most

of their elder brethren exhibited, disregarded all the precautionary injunctions which the latter thought it their duty to enforce, and, while they admitted no minister into the Church, but such as professed opinions similar to their own, subjected the clergy, previously inducted, who continued to maintain Presbyterian principles, to every species of annoyance and persecution, and not unfrequently either suspended them from their office for a time, or deprived them of it altogether.

Rutherford, though residing in a remote quarter of the country, maintained a correspondence with the Presbyterian leaders in Edinburgh, and was regularly apprised by them of every measure that was thought to affect their cause; a plan entered into with the view that he, being the most influential clergyman in that province, might communicate the intelligence to the well-affected, and might, with them, take such steps as the exigencies of the occasion might recommend. Towards the end of the year 1630, he was informed in a letter from the metropolis, that “the English service, and the organs, and King James’s psalms, were

to be imposed on the Kirk, and the bishops were dealing for a General Assembly * :” a court which had not met since the year 1618, and which, for the preceding twenty years, had been subservient to the views of Government. “ I am desired,” says he in a letter to Mrs Fullerton, “ to acquaint the best affected about me with that storm ; therefore I intreat you, pray. * * Howbeit I do not write you with a dry face, yet I am confident in the Lord’s strength, Christ and his side shall overcome † .” This innovation, however, owing to remonstrances made by the more moderate of the bishops, was not attempted at that time, nor for some years afterwards : yet the Presbyterians saw too well what would ultimately be the case, to remain in a state of indifference, or to neglect to improve the influence which they now possessed. They could not use any public measures to avert what they so much dreaded, in consequence of the vigilance of the bishops, and the arbitrary character of the High Commission Court ; but they hoped, in some degree, to gain the same end by means of private fasting, hu-

* *Letters*, Part III. § 6.† *Ib.* *ib.*

miliation, and prayer ; and accordingly Rutherford was applied to by “some of the worthiest of the ministry,” to adopt this procedure, and to recommend it to “such professors in these parts as loved the beauty of Zion *.” The first Sabbath of every quarter was agreed upon for this purpose, with any other six days that might be reckoned most convenient between the quarterly meetings. “When authority, king, court, and churchmen oppose the truth,” says he, “what other armour have we but prayer and faith † ?” These meetings, which were intended to be private, were intimated to those only who were ardently attached to the cause which they were meant to promote ; and in addition to the spiritual exercises in which those who attended them engaged, discourses were delivered, exposing the dangers to be apprehended from Episcopacy, and from unscriptural doctrines and ceremonies, thus exciting hatred against any innovations, and cherishing the zeal already felt for the Presbyterian faith ‡.

But on the eve of the meeting of Parliament, the Presbyterian clergy, and those

* Ib. Part II. § 17.

† Ib. ib.

‡ Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 8, 9.

who acted with them, thought that some more public step (in which Rutherford, as he was then in Edinburgh, undoubtedly took a part) should be adopted, to have the grievances under which they laboured redressed, and the corruptions which had crept into the Church removed. With this view, a paper was drawn up by them, entitled, "Grievances and Petitions concerning the disordered state of the Reformed Church of Scotland," which it was intended to lay before Parliament. For this purpose it was delivered to Sir John Hay, the clerk-register, whose duty it was to submit it to the Lords of the Articles; but Hay, being in the interest of the bishops, disgraced his office by suppressing it. The ministers, on learning this, presented it to Charles himself, who, though he read it, took no notice of it, thereby wounding the feelings of his petitioners, by observing a contemptuous silence; and the subject was not introduced either to the notice of the Lords of the Articles, or of Parliament*.

Such was the situation of ecclesiastical

* Stevenson's *History*, I. pp. 91—99. Cook's *History of the Church*, I. pp. 345—347.

affairs when Charles visited Scotland in 1633,—and adopted a procedure in regard to the Church, highly injudicious and arbitrary, and ultimately unfavourable to the object he had in view. Soon after his father had ascended the throne of England, an act had been passed by the Scottish Parliament, declaratory of the extent of the royal prerogative, and in a short time afterwards, another act respecting the apparel of clergymen. Of this latter statute, James had never thought it proper to avail himself, though it conferred upon him uncontrollable power in the important matter which it embraced. But his son, full of the designs of Laud, was anxious that this privilege should be extended to him; and the Lords of the Articles, to silence every opposition which such a measure might excite, combined into one the two acts in question, thus rendering the recognition of the royal authority, which all rejoiced to acknowledge, inseparable from the passing of this obnoxious statute. But, notwithstanding all the influence of the crown, and the presence of the king, who attended Parliament in person when the

subject was under discussion, the most determined resistance was made; and while the House was willing to renew the act relative to the prerogative, it was urged that the other, which was incorporated with it, was inconsistent with the liberties of the Church, and contrary to the wishes and principles of the people. Charles commanded Rothes, who conducted the opposition, and those by whom he was supported, to desist from speaking, and simply to give their vote; and “when,” says Kirkton, “the act was to pass to the vote, he took pen and paper in his hand to mark the names of such as durst dissent, withal telling them, he should now know who were good subjects, and who were bad *.” This conduct on the part of the king was equally unmanly, and subversive of the independence of Parliament. It shewed that he was unworthy of reigning over a free and loyal people, and that he regarded the objects of civil government as the very reverse of what they really are,—as if the princi-

* Kirkton's *Church of Scotland*, Edin. 1817. 4to. p. 30. “Fifteen earls and lords, and forty-four commissioners and burrows, with some barons, have voted for our kirk, in face of a king, who, with much awe and terror, with his own hand, wrote up the voters for or against himself.” (Rutherford's *Letters*, Part III. § 40.)

ples and welfare of subjects ought to be sacrificed to the caprice or aggrandisement of their ruler. "The majority, however, was hostile to the Court; and Charles could not fail to know, from the paper he held in his hand, that this was the case. The clerk of Parliament, whose office it was to announce the decision, scandalously affirmed, that the act as presented was approved; and when Rothes denied this, the king, instead of acting with the dignity and honour which might have been expected even from the humblest individual, gave his sanction to the falsehood of the clerk; and maintained that, as it was a capital crime to corrupt the records of Parliament, they who accused another of doing so, must, if they failed in establishing the charge, be subjected to the punishment of death. It was too hazardous for the Lords to support an accusation which the whole royal influence would be exerted to suppress; and the act which had been really rejected, was held to be confirmed by the states *."

Rutherford, meanwhile, beheld with pain and alarm, the promulgation of doctrines

* Cook's *History of the Church*, II. 340, 341.

which he reckoned unsound and unscriptural ; and though engaged in public business, and assiduous in the discharge of his official duties, devoted a portion of his time to the study of a controversy which then agitated the Reformed Church. The bold opinions of Arminius, professor of divinity at Leyden, which were meant to supersede those which, under the name of Calvinism, had been adopted in Scotland as founded on the word of God, excited a deep sensation, at first in Holland, and subsequently throughout the Christian world ; and though the Synod of Dort, which was convened (1618,) for the express purpose of discussing them, condemned them as heretical, they nevertheless continued to spread, and the number of their supporters daily to increase. The Jesuits, also, with their other dangerous and insidious principles, had endeavoured to exalt human nature and human reason at the expense of some of the brightest attributes of the Deity ; to exhibit man as a free, uncontrolled agent, independent of the plans, and operations, and mind of his Creator. “ These sects,” says Rutherford, “ are advocates for nature, and pleaders

against the grace of God, thus constituting a king without a subject, and a Saviour without a ransomed people *." Anxious as he was for the truth, he could not witness the progress of such opinions without attempting to oppose them; and, notwithstanding his zeal and faithfulness as a clergyman, he found leisure to compose his learned work † on the controversy in question; the object of which was, on the one hand, to elucidate the orthodox doctrine of the divine decrees, and the efficacy of divine grace, and to prove the harmonious connexion which obtains between these and the free-will of man; and, on the other, to expose the absurdity of the opposite tenets, and to shew their incompatibility both with reason and Scripture. This treatise is elaborate, distinguished by proofs of extensive reading and erudition, both biblical and classical, by a thorough acquaintance with

* *Sermon before the House of Commons*, Lond. 1644, 4to. p. 52.

† The title of this work is, *Exercitationes Apologeticae pro Divina Gratia, in quibus vindicatur doctrina orthodoxa de divinis decretis, et Dei tum aeterni decreti, tum gratiae efficacis operationis, cum hominis libertate consecratione et subordinatione amica. Adversus Jacobum Arminium ejusque asseclas, et Jesuitas, inprimis vero Fran. Suarezium, Gabri. Vasquezium, Lodiv. Molinam, Leonard. Lessium, Pet. Fonseca et Robertum Bellarminum. Studio et Industria Samuelis Rhaetorfortis, Ecclesiae Anwetensis, in Gallovidia, Scotiae Provincia, Pastoris. Amsteredami apud Henricum Laurentii Bibliopolam, anno M.DC.XXXVI. 12mo. pp. 544.*

all the polemical works which had been written on the subject, and by uncommon dexterity in the use of the dialectic art, which, until that time, had been so ardently studied. The work, which is dedicated in terms of affection and gratitude to Lord Kenmure *, was first published at Amsterdam in the beginning of the year 1636; and so highly were its merits estimated, that before the close of that year, and subsequently in 1651, editions of it were printed at Franeker under the superintendence of Christopher Schotanus; and in a prefatory address to the reader, the learned editor speaks with great commendation of the theological, philosophical, and literary eminence of the performance. It gained its author, indeed, no ordinary degree of reputation; it was generally regarded as shaking to the foundation the opinions against which it was directed †; and while at home

* The Treatise, though dedicated to Lord Kenmure, was not published till about eighteen months after his death; but as it was printed in Holland, and as a long time must necessarily have elapsed between the commencement and completion of the work, the probability is, that the dedication was printed ere his Lordship died.

† “The Arminian bishops might,” on account of this work, “well gnaw their tongues, and gnash their teeth for bitterness and indignation of spirit, but could make no answer to it, (for Maxwell, [bishop of Ross,] when he read it, said he did not ex

it may have been the cause of his subsequent preferment, it brought him at a future period of life an invitation to the chair of Divinity and Hebrew, from the respective universities of Harderwick and Utrecht. It is not, however, without many faults. Its Latinity is not remarkable for purity or idiomatical accuracy, and English words are Latinized in a manner quite unwarrantable. There is often a vagueness in the expression, proceeding both from the unmanageable length to which the sentences are extended, and from their involved construction; and altogether, the author seems to have been more occupied in the treatment of his subject, than in the correctness of his style, and to have thought, if the one could be rendered at all successful, the other was a matter of inferior importance. There may also be many objections made to the mode in which the discussion is managed; but these, such as prolixity, an unnecessary attention to trifling distinctions, and an overstrained display of scholastic niceties, are attributable rather to the age of which we

pect that any puritan in Scotland had had so much learning.")
(Row's *MS. History*, p. 275.)

are speaking, than to any individual author that belonged to it*. Taste is local and variable ; and in the days of Rutherford, was not in this country marked by correctness or refinement.

Rutherford, thus eminent as an author and as a minister, carried on an extensive epistolary correspondence with the most distinguished Christians, both in Scotland and in the north of Ireland ; in which latter place Presbytery had long prevailed. There is a tradition still current, that the amiable and learned Archbishop Usher, on passing through Galloway, urged by the admiration he entertained for Rutherford's character, paid him a visit in disguise at Anwoth ; and that upon being accidentally recognized, he had the liberality to lay aside the Episcopal ceremonies, and to officiate for his host, according to the Presbyterian form of worship, on the subsequent Sabbath †. How far this tradition is founded in reality, cannot now be ascertained ; from the character of Usher, it is certainly not improbable ;

* "I like not well his obscuritie in that book." (*MS. copy of Baillie's Letters and Journal, apud annum 1637.*)

† Vide Appendix, Note D.

and if true, it is alike honourable to the memory of both parties. Some of the most celebrated Presbyterian clergymen were at this time established in the north of Ireland, such as John M'Lellan, John Livingstone, Robert Cunningham, Josiah Welsh, Robert Blair; with all of whom the subject of this memoir maintained a regular correspondence. The last, who was afterwards his colleague at St Andrew's, having been deputed by his brethren to present a memorial to the king, relative to the grievances under which they laboured at the hand of the Bishop of Down, on his return from London, passed through Galloway; and the following characteristic paragraph from his life may not be unacceptable to the reader.

“ When I was passing,” says he, “ to the port, [Port-Patrick,] I had a desire to visit Mr Rutherfoord at Anwoth, and Marrion M'Naught at Kirkcudbright; and not knowing how to compass both, when I came neare the parting of the way, I laid the bridle on the horse's neck, intreating the Lord to direct the horse as he saw meet. The horse took the way to Kirkcudbright, where I did find them both, whom I desired to see,

and was greatly refreshed with their company. The next day, being a day of humiliation in that place, I was entreated to supply the place of ane aged pastor, (Mr Rutherford being sick.) Glad was I to hear the motion, having been silent five weekes, so did I bear the burden of that day, and was much refreshed with that labour, and thence passed to the port the next day *."

Mr Glendinning, minister of Kirkcudbright, having now become unable, from age and infirmities, to discharge with efficacy the duties of his office, wished, before his death, to see his flock put under the ministration of a faithful clergyman. To Rutherford the people of Kirkcudbright turned their eyes, as one eminently qualified to succeed their present venerable pastor. He had frequently officiated among them, when Glendinning was incapable of doing so from indisposition ; he was the intimate friend of Provost Fullarton, and of the more respectable classes of the parish ; and

* *MS. Life of Blair*, written by himself. Adv. Library, Rob. 3. 2. 16. page 56.

his distinguished qualifications, both as to talents and spiritual-mindedness, they had had every opportunity of knowing and appreciating. Application was accordingly made to him on the subject; and as Kirkcudbright would have afforded him a wider field of usefulness, and as his income at Anwoth was peculiarly small, his wishes, it may be thought, must have been in favour of the change. He may at first have been so inclined *; but on this, as on other occasions, he acted from motives more disinterested and divine than mere human policy suggests. He had been the object of the choice of the inhabitants of Anwoth; they had been at great trouble and expense in accomplishing his induction among them; and his labours had been received with uncommon meekness and docility, and had been remarkably successful. He had, besides, come under the most solemn vows to continue faithful to this people; and his settlement among them he regarded so sacred and binding, that nothing could dissolve it but the unanimous consent of the

* *Letters*, Part III. § 14.

people with whom it was formed, and a harmonious call to another charge. “Great solicitation,” says Rutherford, “is made by the town of Kirkcudbright, for to have the use of my poor labours among them. If the Lord shall call, and his people cry, who am I to resist? But without his seen calling, and till the flock, whom I now oversee, be planted with one, to whom I dare entrust Christ’s spouse; gold nor silver, nor favour of men, I hope, shall not loose me*.” “I entreat you, in Christ’s name,” to use the words of another letter, “when my soul is under wrestlings, and seeking directions from our Lord, (to whom his vineyard belongeth,) whether I shall go, give me liberty to advise, and try all arts and paths, to see whether he goeth before me, and leadeth me; for if I were assured of God’s call to your town, let my arm fall from my shoulder-blade, and lose power, and my right eye be dried up, if I hesitate to obey the summons†.”

But though Rutherford had at once ac-

* lb. Part II. § 13. *ad finem*. Wodrow’s MSS. Adv. Lib. Vol. LXII. Art. 55.

† *Letters*, Part III. § 21.

cepted, it is probable that, as so many other obstacles were in the way, he never would have been minister of Kirkcudbright. The Bishop of Galloway was not willing to see a person of his gifts and popularity promoted to so important a charge. He seems, indeed, to have promised the people a man according to their own mind, on the condition that they would not select Rutherford; and Rutherford accordingly entreats them "to try the Lord, if they had warrant of him to seek no man in the world but one only, when there are choice of good men to be had; howbeit," says he, "they be scarce, yet they are *." The see of Galloway having meanwhile become vacant, by the death of Bishop Lamb, (1634,) Thomas Sydserff, bishop of Brechin, a man of Arminian principles, and of the most intolerant character, was nominated his successor. This appointment brought ecclesiastical affairs in this province to a crisis. Not only now were the wishes of the people of Kirkcudbright not consulted, but a person of sentiments totally opposite to theirs, was endeavoured

* *Letters*, Part III. § 21.

to be thrust in upon them ; and Mr Glendinning was suspended from his office, and ordered to be imprisoned, because he would neither conform to Episcopacy, nor admit the creature of the bishop to share his labours. Provost Fullerton, and the other magistrates, one of whom was William Glendinning, son to their minister, espoused the cause of that venerable clergyman ; and not only refused to incarcerate him, according to the command of Sydserff, but, with almost the whole people of the parish, insisted on continuing to attend his ministry. The bishop was not of a disposition to allow his authority to be thus despised ; he caused Bailie Glendinning to be imprisoned in Kirkcudbright, and the other magistrates to be confined within the town of Wigton ; while he sentenced the aged pastor to remain within the bounds of his parish, and forbade him the exercise of any part of his ministerial duties *.

* How long this state of things continued in Kirkcudbright is not known ; but in February 1637, we learn from a letter addressed by four ministers of the Presbytery to Bishop Sydserff, that Mr Glendinning, though he had been suspended, still continued to preach, and to perform the other ministerial duties, as formerly : that William Maxwell, whom his Lordship had appointed to preach, having found the pulpit-door locked, was prevented from officiating, while Mr Glendinning did preach on the afternoon of

Amid all this violence, Rutherford could not expect to remain unmolested : nor indeed had he been allowed to continue unmolested till this time. So early as the year 1630, he had been summoned before the High Commission Court, at the instance of a “ profligate person” in his parish, who had been convicted of a most revolting crime ; but owing to the favour shewn him by Mr Alexander Colville, one of the judges, and a friend of Lady Kenmure, and to the unavoidable absence of Archbishop Spottiswoode, the diet was deserted, and he was set at liberty †. What the charge was that was brought against him we are not told, though there is no doubt it consisted of his non-conformity,

the same day : that the people of the parish, who had been married by Mr Glendinning during his suspension, had been called before these four ministers, to undergo censure ; but that though the landward part of the parish submitted to this censure, “ those within the town not only refused to satisfy the kirk, but stood to the defence of what they had done, and being set on edge by some of the puritan faction, did abuse” their judges. One George Welsh was “ their mouth and spokesman, who doubtless spoke nothing but as Robert Glendinning, his old master, directed him,” (*MS. Adv. Lib. Rob. III. 6—14. No. 6.*) It is farther stated, that the magistrates protected the townsmen, and concurred with them in the measure, (*Ib. ib.*) Mr Glendinning, who was said to be 79 years of age in 1635, must have died either before or about the beginning of the year 1638, as early in that year Mr John M’Lellan, from the north of Ireland, was appointed his successor, (*Stevenson’s Hist. II. 312.*) Mr Glendinning, it may be mentioned, succeeded the celebrated John Welch, who was translated from Kirkcudbright to Ayr in 1599, or the subsequent year, (*Life of Welch, Edin. 1703. History of Galloway, 123.*)

† *Letters, Part II. § 8. ad finem.*

his preaching against the Articles of Perth, and his keeping of private fasts. But whatever it was, his prosecutor seems not to have been countenanced in it by Bishop Lamb, whom certainly such matters more nearly concerned; nor indeed is there any evidence that this prelate ever took steps to counteract or diminish Rutherford's popularity, or to abet the opposition and illiberality which he experienced from his brethren. They indeed endeavoured, not merely to threaten and overawe him at home, but despatched reproaches and falsehoods concerning him to the Archbishop of St Andrew's, with the view of prejudicing the primate against him^{*}; and had Lamb encouraged such conduct, Rutherford, it is probable, would have suffered deprivation from his office much sooner than he really experienced. But this prelate, though a member of the High Commission Court, and though in consequence concurring in the propriety and necessity of that institution, manifested in his own diocese a forbearance and a toleration which cannot be too highly praised. No sooner,

* Ib. Part III. § 6. 25.

however, was Sydserff promoted to this see, than the aspect of the Presbyterian cause was changed ; bigotry became predominant ; and Rutherford, like his aged co-presbyter Mr Glendinning, was exposed to hostility and persecution. In 1634, immediately on the elevation of Sydserff, we find Rutherford and Mr Dalglish of Kirkmabreck threatened to be summoned before the High Commission, and that some papers belonging to the former, relative to the corruptions and backslidings of the times, had been seized, and laid before the king*. This prelate, however, did not institute proceedings against him, till he had conferred with him several times in private, to induce him to renounce Presbytery, and to conform to Episcopacy†. “ We must,” says Rutherford,

* Ib. Part II. § 21. Mr Dalglish was deprived of his charge, as minister of the united parishes of Kirkdale and Kirkmabreck, in the year 1635 ; but whether by the authority of Sydserff merely, or of the High Commission Court in Edinburgh, is not known. In two years afterwards, when Episcopacy began to be superseded, he returned to his flock, and he was a member of the Assembly that met at Glasgow in 1638, as minister of Kirkmabreck. In 1639, he was translated to Cramond, near Edinburgh, as successor to Mr William Colville, afterwards Principal of the College of Edinburgh, to whom he may have been related, as his wife's name was Elizabeth Colville. He continued in this parish till 1662, when he was deposed for non-conformity. He continued, under every circumstance, the correspondent and friend of Rutherford, who appears to have entertained for him the highest regard, (*Wood's History of Cramond*, p. 80. *Wodrow's History*, Appendix, Vol. I. *Rutherford's Letters*, Part I. § 18. 84. Part II. § 24. *Stevenson's History*, II. 475.)

† The substance of this conference, Rutherford printed in the

“either see the evils of ceremonies to be but as indifferent straws, or suffer no less than to be casten out of the Lord’s inheritance *.” But he was not on any subject a man of wavering and half-formed views. He was too honest, and had too great a respect for truth, to be guilty of such temporizing conduct; and on the subject of religion and ecclesiastical polity, his opinions were the result of study, reflection, and prayer, and were believed by him to be inculcated in the sacred volume, and rather than sacrifice or compromise them, he was willing to endure any suffering to which he might be subjected. The sentiments which, in his Letters, he expresses on this subject, do him honour, both as a man and a Christian. “It hath pleased the Lord to let me see, by all appearance, my labours in God’s house here at an end; and I must now learn to suffer, in the which I am a dull scholar. * * I seek no other thing, but that my Lord

form of a pamphlet, in which he seems to have endeavoured to substantiate a charge of Popery against Sydserff, of a leaning towards which he had been long suspected, (*MS. Copy of Baillie’s Letters and Journal, ut supra.*) No copy of this pamphlet is known to be now extant. For a short account of Sydserff, see Appendix, Note E.

* Letters, Part II. § 23.

may be honoured by me, in giving a testimony. I am willing to do him more service ; but seeing he will have no more of my labours, and this land will thrust me out, I pray for grace to learn to be acquaint with misery, if I may give so rough a name to such a mark of those who shall be crowned with Christ *.” “ I hang by a thread, but it is (if I may speak so) of Christ’s spinning ; there is no quarrel more honest or honourable than to suffer for truth †.”

And these were not the words of boasting, or of affected and ephemeral feeling, which, on the first appearance of suffering, his conduct would refute ; they were the words of sincerity and fortitude, and were uttered in the spirit which they so strikingly indicate and pourtray,—a truth of which every incident of his future life affords the most ample and consistent illustration.

Nor was it long ere he was called upon to exemplify, by his conduct, the reality of the sentiments which he had expressed. Sydsersff, like most of his brethren, had erected a High Commission Court within

Letters, Part II. § 21.

† *Ib. ib.* § 22.

his own diocese, composed of his own creatures. “The prelates could thus fine and confine at their pleasure, (no limites being set to them,) in an arbitrary way, the lieges throughout the whole kingdom*.” Rutherford, being called before this Court, (1636,) which met at Wigton, was deprived of his ministerial office. But the enmity of Sydserff was not yet satiated. He wished to have this sentence confirmed by the authority of the High Commission at Edinburgh; and accordingly, in July of the same year, he summoned him before that tribunal, accusing him of non-conformity, of treason †, of preaching against the Perth Articles, and particularly of being the author of a work, (of which we have already spoken,) “written against the Arminians.” “The cause,” says Rutherford, “that ripened their hatred against me, was my book against the Arminians, whereof they accused me these three days I appeared before them ‡.” “They were animat against him for tax-

* *MS. Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 62-3. Adv. Library, Rob. 3. 2. 16. Baillie's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 3.

† I was “accused of treason preached against our king; a minister, being witness, well nigh went to swear it.” (*Letters*, Part I. § 51. See also Part III. § 25.)

‡ *Letters*, Part I. § 1.

ing Cameron in his work, and most for his indecent railing at Jackson. Also it is long since the Register, dealing to have Mr Henry Rocke coadjutor to the blind bishop of Galloway, [Lamb,] did put into the king's hand, a treatise written by Rutherford, upon conventicles, or the extent of private mens libertie, in publicking, praising, and exponing of Scripture, to be ane argument of that bishop's negligence. All these things and moe did provoke them, but the alledged cause of their censure was only conformity*." On his appearance, the members of the court, anxious to en-

* *MS. Copy of Baillie's Letters and Journal, apud annum 1637.* The treatise mentioned in the text, is referred to in a former part of this work, p. 84. It formed part of his papers, "anent the corruptions of the times," which were taken to the king, (*Letters, Part II. § 21.*)

Cameron and Jackson, spoken of in the text, were eminent theological writers. The former, a Scotsman, was professor of Divinity successively in Glasgow, Saumur, and Montaban, at the latter of which places he died in 1625. Happy had it been for him had he treated other authors with the kindness shewn to him by Rutherford. "Cameron," who inclined to popery, we are told, "never treated a theological question without advancing some novelties; and whenever, in his interpretation of some passage in Scripture, he met with any difficulties, he took occasion to contradict other Divines, and particularly Beza," Cameron, it is well known, fell a victim to his principles or his violence. (*Bayle's Dictionnaire Historique et critique, tom. II. p. 31. (Capelle Icon Johannis Cameronis.)*)

Dr Jackson, Dean of Peterborough, the best of whose works is a Commentary on the Creed, was first a Calvinist, afterwards an Arminian; a change that gained him the friendship of Archbishop Laud. Under such circumstances, he could not expect, nor did he receive, favour from Rutherford, (*Biographia Britannica, Wood's Athenae Oxonienses.*)

snare him, and to avail themselves for his condemnation of any objectionable sentiment which he might inadvertently be led to utter, importuned him with questions unconnected with his summons ; which, in opposition to their threats, he positively declined to answer. They were farther displeased with him, because he refused to give the prelates the titles which they had assumed ; titles which he regarded as unfounded in Scripture, and the recognition of which as conniving at heresy and corruption. The court seems to have been at a loss how to act. “ The most part of the bishops,” says Rutherford, “ when I came in, looked more astonished than I * ;” and from the fortitude and independence which he exhibited before them, they were compelled to listen to his defence in silence. Some of them even spoke in his favour ; which his relentless accuser perceiving, declared with an oath, that if the commissioners did not decide according to his wish, he would make an application to the king on the subject. The result of the trial, therefore, which lasted for three successive days, may easily be antici-

* *Letters*, Part III. § 36.

pated. Great interest, indeed, was made for him by Lord Lorn, (brother to Lady Kenmure,) afterwards the celebrated Marquis of Argyle*, by many others both noblemen and gentlemen, and particularly by the members of his own congregation†. But nothing could avail; and notwithstanding the strenuous exertions made in his behalf, and the absurd nature of some of the charges, and the frivolous nature of others, and the general want of evidence with regard to all, judgment was given against him. He was deposed from his pastoral office, prohibited under pain of rebellion from officiating in his ministerial capacity in any part of Scotland, and sentenced to be confined before the 20th of the subsequent month, (August 1636,) within the town of Aberdeen, during the king's pleasure‡.

This sentence, though equally unjust and cruel, did not dispirit or intimidate him.

* "Write thanks," says Rutherford, in a letter to Lady Kenmure, "to your brother, my Lord of Lorne, for what he hath done for me a poor unknown stranger to his Lordship. I shall pray for him and his house while I live. It is his honour to open his mouth in the streets for his wronged and oppressed master, Christ Jesus." (*Letters*, Part I. § 4. *ad finem*, see also Part III. § 36.) Rutherford dedicated to this celebrated nobleman, "The Due Right of Presbyteries," published in 1644.

† Row's *MS. History*, p. 275.

‡ *Ib. ib.* and *Letters*, Part I. § 1. 51.

He submitted to it with a fortitude and cheerfulness, such as, from what we already know of his character, we may have been led to anticipate. His stern spirit and his ardent attachment to the cause which he had embraced, seem, if possible, to have become more faithful and inflexible; and, like the primitive Christians, he rejoiced that he was allowed to suffer in so worthy a cause. "That honour," says he, in a letter written immediately after his trial, "that honour I have prayed for, these sixteen years, with submission to my Lord's will, my kind Lord hath now bestowed upon me, even to suffer for my royal and princely king, Jesus *." "I go to my king's palace at Aberdeen; tongue, and pen, and wit cannot express my joy." "Christ," to use the words of another letter of nearly the same date, "was always sweet to my soul, but since I suffered for him, his breath has a sweeter smell than before. Oh! that every hair of my head, and every member, and every bone in my body, were a *man* to witness a fair

* *Letters*, Part I. § 4.

confession for him, I would think all but too little for him *."

A month only being allowed him from the passing of this sentence, till the time he was to arrive at Aberdeen, he found it impossible to visit his flock and friends in Galloway. In a letter to Lady Kenmure, written a few days after his trial, he says, "I dare not promise to see your Ladyship, because of the little time I have allotted me, and I purpose to obey the king who hath power of my body; and rebellion to kings is unbecoming Christ's ministers †:" words which I quote chiefly with an intention of showing, that while Rutherford "feared God," "he also honoured the king," and "obeyed magistrates;" and that his resistance to Episcopal jurisdiction resulted not from political motives, but from a deep conviction that such a hierarchy and the theological opinions which its abettors then entertained, were contrary to the word of God, and subversive of true religion. Though he did not return to Galloway, he paid a visit to Mr David Dickson, minister of Irvine,

* *Letters*, Part I. § 1.

† *Ib. ib.* § 4.

from which place he writes, "being on his journey to *Christ's palace* in Aberdeen." He expressed a wish, however, that though he could not visit his friends, they would not forget the "Lord's prisoner," not for his sake, but for that of the gospel. He arrived at his place of confinement within the time appointed by the court, accompanied thither by a deputation from his congregation at Anwoth, "with great regret at the want of such a pastor, so holie, learned, and modest *."

* Row's *MS. History*, p. 275. We previously (page 49.) mentioned Rutherford's brother, who was a schoolmaster and reader in Kirkcudbright. (Row's *MS. History*, p. 281.) Being a non-conformist, and a zealous supporter of Mr Glendinning, the persecuted minister of the parish, he was summoned in November 1636, before the High Commission, and condemned to resign his charge, and to remove from Kirkcudbright before the ensuing term of Whitsunday. On his trial he experienced much kindness from Alexander Colville of Blair, who had shewn towards Rutherford himself similar attention. "My brother's case," says he, in a letter to Mr Colville, "hath moved me not a little; he wrote to me your care and kindness. Sir, the Lord's blessings and prayers, I trust, shall not go by you." (*Letters*, Part I. § 95.) He seems to have taken refuge in Ayrshire; for in a letter to Lord Loudon, Rutherford speaks of his brother as being "nigh his Lordship's bounds;" and every individual whom he addressed on his behalf, after his removal from Kirkcudbright, were connected with that county. The kindness and the frequency with which, in his Letters, he speaks of him, do honour to his heart. "He is more to me," says he, "than a brother now, being engaged to suffer for so honourable a master and cause." (*Ib. ib.* § 199.)—How long he lived, or what was his subsequent history, I have not discovered.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of Aberdeen.—His reception there.—How he submitted to the treatment he received.—Sources of consolation.—An account of his *Letters*.—Very pious and useful, and unjustly treated with contempt by some.—The agitated state of his parish, to which he is anxious to return.—An account of that revolution in ecclesiastical matters, which terminated in the triumph of Presbytery.—His removal from Aberdeen.

ABERDEEN, at the time Rutherford was banished to it, was the very stronghold of Episcopacy and Arminianism. Both the ministers of the city, and the professors in the University, as well as the greater part of the influential inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, were hostile to Presbyterian principles, and had early imbibed the views which Laud had so assiduously endeavoured to enforce. Some of the most strenuous supporters of these views, as we shall hereafter see, were at this time connected

with Aberdeen, and it was, in truth, on this very account, that it was fixed upon as Rutherford's place of banishment. "This town," to use his own words, "has been advised upon of purpose for me; it consists either of Papists, or of men of Gallio's naughty faith*; it is counted wisdom in the most not to countenance a confined minister†."

Rutherford could not therefore expect to enjoy tranquillity, much less to experience kindness, in his place of confinement. In such a quarter, indeed, prejudices must have existed against him even before his trial, on account of his eminence as an independent Presbyterian clergyman, and of the asperity with which, in his late publication, he had treated Dr Jackson, and the supporters of Arminian doctrines. On his arrival, accordingly, he found himself the object of almost universal suspicion. "The towns-men were cold, general, and dry in their kindness." It was even no easy matter for him to find a family willing to receive him under their roof; and except from some strangers who were settled in the place, he seems at first

* *Acts of the Apostles*, xviii. 12—17. † *Letters*, Part I. § 20.

to have experienced little liberality or friendship on the part of the citizens *.

The cause of truth, however, is sure at length to prevail. Rntherford, though at first viewed with suspicion by the inhabitants of Aberdeen, insomuch that he states that “many thought him a strange man, and his cause not good †,” was ere long regarded by them as a good man, unjustly persecuted, and he obtained an influence over their minds, of which he availed himself for their spiritual advantage. He was, indeed, denied the privileges of his ministerial character; but, while every pulpit was shut against him, he secretly performed religious exercises in private families. “I want nothing,” says he; “unknown faces favour me; enemies must speak good of the truth; my Master’s cause purchaseth commendation ‡.” His credit with the people increased so much, that the professors of the University, and the ministers of the city, supposed it necessary that means should be taken to impair or destroy it. The first step they adopted to accomplish this purpose, was an at-

* *Letters*, Part I. § 157-8, *et passim*.
 ‡ *Ib.* *ib.* § 8.

† *Ib.* *ib.* § 5.

tempt to expose and refute his religious tenets, and to prove that the doctrines of the Presbyterians were contrary to Scripture. Accordingly, they not only enveighed against these doctrines from the pulpit, even in his own hearing, but they tempted him to engage in disputations with them on the subjects at issue ; a challenge which he accepted with great reluctance, on account of the number and violence of his opponents, and of the fettered circumstances in which, as a prisoner, he was placed. Of the disputations that took place, we have no information but what he has given incidentally in his Letters. Nor is the want of such knowledge much to be regretted ; for from the specimens of argumentation on the same or similar topics, which his antagonists soon after [1638,] exhibited, we may form some idea of the character of the discussion on their part *, and the opinions of Rutherford on the subject, may be learned from his numerous publications. There is one conclusion, however,

* *General Demands concerning the late Covenant*, by the doctors and ministers of Aberdeen ; the *Answers* to these *Demands*, by Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, and Andrew Cant ; together with the *Replies*, *Answers to the Replies*, and the *Duplies*, printed at Aberdeen, 1638. Vide also Baillie's *Letters and Journal*, I. 73.

which we may safely draw,—that no party was convinced by the arguments of the other; and that it is not improbable both sides laid claim to the victory. Rutherford, if we may judge from his own account, did not certainly suffer a defeat. Dr Barron, “who was the ablest and keenest of his party, hath often,” says he, “disputed with me, especially about Arminian controversies, and for the ceremonies. Three yokings laid him by; and I have not been troubled with him since *.” “I am here troubled,” says he on another occasion, “with the disputes of the great doctors, (especially with Dr Barron on ceremonial and Arminian controversies, for all are corrupt here,) but, I thank God, with no detriment to the truth, or discredit to my profession †.”

But when, in consequence of opposition, Rutherford, as is usual in such cases, became the more popular and influential, and the opinions which he maintained the more generally diffused, his antagonists had recourse to another expedient, which shewed the malignity of the spirit by which they

* *Letters*, Part I. § 18.

† *Ib. ib.* § 114.

were actuated. They not only held out threats to the people who courted his society, and listened to his instructions, but they applied to the Legislature, either to have him more strictly confined, or removed farther north, or banished from the kingdom altogether*. Banishment appears at length to have been determined on, and a warrant to that purpose to have been despatched to Scotland by the king; but circumstances which we shall soon have occasion to relate, and which terminated in the downfall of Episcopacy, occurred to prevent the warrant from being carried into execution. The prospect of banishment, however, he sustained with his usual equanimity. "The earth is the Lord's; and for more grace, and no more hire, I am ready to submit to whatever punishment he may think proper to inflict." "Whither I go I know not: I am ready at the Lord's call†."

Considerable anxiety, however, appears at this period to have settled on his mind. The Episcopalian party were predominant, and the success of one abuse seemed only to

* *Letters*, § 5. 73. 83. 87. 118. 162. &c. † *Ib.* as last quoted.

pave the way for the introduction of another. He could see no probable limit to his confinement, and knew not what cruelty might yet be in reserve for him. Under such circumstances, he entertained, for a moment, the idea of emigrating to New England,—a place which afforded an asylum to multitudes persecuted, like him, for conscience sake, and to which Livingstone, Cunningham, Blair, and other Presbyterian clergymen in the north of Ireland, were preparing to remove. “If I saw,” says he, “a call for New England, I would follow*.” But Providence, in his wisdom, over-ruled the designs of his brethren as to America. They remained at home, and continued to be an honour to the Presbyterian faith; and Rutherford, if he ever seriously intended to remove thither, soon also relinquished the idea, and with a proper Christian spirit, awaited, in his native land, the divine will concerning him.

Thus situated, removed from his flock and friends, forbidden the exercise of any ministerial duty, and uncertain as to the intention

* *Letters*, Part 1. § 51.

of his adversaries respecting him, he displayed a spirit, not only of resignation, but of happiness, which a conviction of suffering for truth could alone excite. This conviction, indeed, was enough to support and cheer him, even under circumstances of greater distress than he had yet experienced. Consciousness of innocence is, almost under any visitation, sufficient to fortify and solace the mind: it relieves, at least, from the anguish which a sense of guilt and remorse uniformly occasions. But when an individual is called upon to endure tribulation for righteousness' sake; when the cause is that of conscience and of truth, it assumes the character of an honourable warfare, and an elevation and joy is imparted to the mind, which no other consideration could produce. In such a situation Rutherford was placed, when, in consequence of his faithfulness in opposing corruption, and in declaring the whole counsel of God, he was deprived of his ministry, and banished to Aberdeen; and he appears to have enjoyed, in a high degree, that consolation to which we have referred. Almost every sentence of his Letters affords proof of this. "I would not exchange my prison,

and sad nights, with the court, honour, and ease of my adversaries : my Lord visiteth my soul with feasts of spiritual comfort.” “ Oh ! if all the kingdoms were as I am, except these bonds.” “ I know, and am persuaded, it is for God’s truth, and the honour of my king and royal prince Jesus, I now suffer ; and howbeit this town is my prison, yet Christ hath made it my palace, a garden of pleasures, a field and orchard of delight *.”

In addition to the satisfaction he felt as a sufferer in what he regarded the cause of truth, he derived great consolation from the extensive epistolary correspondence which he maintained with his friends, and with many of the most eminent Christians in different parts of the kingdom. This correspondence atoned, in no small degree, for the want of the domestic and social comforts he had before enjoyed. The letters he received, he often characterized as refreshing to his soul, and as a rich source of comfort and happiness. His own letters are of a peculiarly pious and enthusiastic description, and

* *Letters*, Part I. § 94. 30. 148.

afford a striking view of his character and feelings. They are the outpourings of a soul intimately conversant with God and divine things, and dead to all the common interests of this world. They breathe not one unhallowed desire, and exhibit not the symptoms of any feeling but such as every good man would be proud to own. Though he had experienced much illiberality and unkindness from his brethren, and though he regarded the punishment inflicted on him as unwarrantable and unjust, there did not escape from him the most distant expression of discontent, violence, or revenge. He more than once, on the contrary, gave way to very opposite sentiments. "Oh, my God! seek not an account of the violence done to me by my brethren, whose salvation I love and desire. I pray that they and I be not heard as contrary parties, in the day of compearance before our Judge*."

These Letters, having since been published, must be known to every reader. Merely as specimens of epistolary composition, they are not, we confess, entitled to great

* *Letters*, Part I. § 124.

praise; for though distinguished by considerable simplicity, both of sentiment and language, and sometimes by examples of that uncultivated pathos and wild eloquence, which persecution seldom fails to produce, they are in general remarkable for coarseness and inelegance; descriptive of taste as it was then understood, but little suitable to the standard that now prevails. They were written, not with a view to publication, but as the unpremeditated effusions of friendship, and as the result of an ardent zeal to enforce religious truth, and were not meant to be perused by any but those to whom they were addressed; and accordingly, when Rutherford understood that collections of them had been made, and that copies of them had been widely circulated, he expressed great regret, and regarded such a liberty as a breach of the confidence reposed in his correspondents. The merit, however, of these epistles was such, particularly in regard to the spirit they breathed as applicable to the times, that they became every day more celebrated, and more extensively read. "They did great good," says Row, "not only to those to whom they were written,

but to others to whose view in Providence they came, so that sundry began to gather them, and have whole books full of them." And the same author expresses a wish to see them printed ; for " I am confident," he observes, " through the Lord's mercy and blessing, they would not fail to do much good, for in them are handled many necessary cases of conscience, wherein perplexed souls might get resolution *." This wish remained unfulfilled till after Rutherford's death, when one of his surviving friends undertook and superintended the publication of them †. The work which they form was considered as a great boon conferred on the

* Row's *MS. History*, p. 275.

† Robert M'Ward, then minister of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, of whom we shall have occasion afterwards to speak. The work was printed at Rotterdam in 1664, three years after Rutherford's death, with an interesting address to the " Christian Reader," containing much important biographical information. The full title is, " Joshua Redivivus, or Mr Rutherford's Letters, divided into two parts ; the first containing those which were written from Aberdeen, where he was confined by a sentence of the High Commission, drawn forth against him, partly upon the account of his declining them, partly upon the account of his non-conformitie ; the second containing some which were written from Anwoth, before he was, by the prelat's persecution, thrust from his ministry ; and others, upon diverse occasions afterwards, from St Andrews, London, &c. Now published for the use of all the people of God, but more particularly for those who are now, or afterwards may be, put to suffering for Christ and his cause ; by a well-wisher to the work and people of God. John xvi. 2.—2 Thess. i. 6. Printed in the year CLXIV." pp. 576, 12mo. exclusive of the introductory address. Neither the name of the editor, nor the place of publication, is given ; but it is known to have been printed at Rotterdam, under the superintendence of Mr M'Ward.

A third part was subsequently added, containing letters written from Anwoth, Aberdeen, London, and St Andrew's.

religious world. It has undergone many impressions, of which that of Glasgow, 1765, is the best. It still retains its popularity; and now, at the distance of nearly two centuries, an author of eminence has not thought it unbecoming him to superintend a new edition of it *.

On account of the extravagance with which, in some measure, these Letters abound, they have been made the object of much contempt and illiberality, of which they are not worthy. Milton, a keen supporter of the Independents, and by consequence an avowed enemy of the Presbyterians, who were then opposed to them, speaks sarcastically of Rutherford †; and Warton, his annotator, takes occasion, in his note on the passage, to remark, that "Rutherford's Letters are the most genuine specimens he remembered to have seen of the enthusiastic cant of the old Scotch divines ‡." That there is some truth in this observation, none will venture to deny; but the vague charge

* Thomas Erskine, Esq. author of an able essay on the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion, and other theological works.

† Rutherford, says Warton, was "an enemy to the Independents;" * * and "it is hence easy to see why he was an obnoxious character to Milton." (Warton's *Notes on Milton*, pp. 322—3.)

‡ Ib. ib.

which it contains, is more than counterbalanced by the acknowledged value of the Letters in other respects. They are not distinguished, we again repeat, for taste or literature; of these indeed they are entirely devoid; and the popularity they have so long enjoyed, and the commendations that have been bestowed upon them, have resulted entirely from their theological and religious merit, combined with the light they throw on the history of the times, and the knowledge they afford of the character and mode of thinking of the writer. Without referring to other authorities than those already mentioned, that of the Rev. Richard Cecil (a clergyman of the Church of England, whose prejudices, if he had indulged any, must have been unfavourable to Rutherford and the Presbyterians of his age,) may be quoted as equivalent to that of Warton. "Rutherford's Letters," says this eminent divine, "is one of my classics. Were truth the beam, I have no doubt that if Homer, and Virgil, and Horace, and all that the world has agreed to idolize, were weighed against that book, they would be lighter than vanity. He is a real original. There are, in

his Letters, some inexpressibly forcible and arresting remonstrances with unconverted men *."

While in Aberdeen, he was engaged in studies of a more profound nature than mere letter-writing presupposes. He was much employed in theological composition ; a rich source of comfort and happiness to him amid his bereavements and solitude. He contemplated a work on Hosea †, which, however, was never executed ; and in a letter to Lady Kenmure, he requests her to ask her brother, Lord Lorn, if his Lordship would permit him to dedicate to him a work he had written against Arminianism ‡. What his Lordship's answer was, we are not informed ; but Rutherford did not publish any book at that time, or for some years afterwards, though it is not improbable that, while under confinement, he devoted him-

* Pratt's *Works of Cecil*, Lond. 1816, Vol. III. p. 445. These *Letters* were published in the Dutch language, at Flushing, in the year 1674, within ten years of Rutherford's death ; and several editions have since issued from the Dutch press, that of 1754 being the last, and all of them in three volumes small 8vo. The translator was James Koelman, minister of Sluys in Flanders, well known as the able translator of many of our more popular theological works into his native language. The *Letters* are highly valued in Holland. The knowledge of these particulars I owe to a kind communication from the Rev. William Steven, Rotterdam.

† *Letters*, Part I. § 91.

‡ *Ib.* Part III. § 48.

self much to theological study, and was thus preparing himself for the composition of the numerous treatises he afterwards gave to the world in such rapid succession. He must, indeed, have made himself extremely conversant, by previous application, with the subjects on which he wrote, else we cannot account for the great number of his publications, or the learning and talents they display. In 1644, he dedicated, as we shall afterwards learn, to Lord Lorn, then Marquis of Argyle, "The Due Right of Presbyteries, or a Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland."

Notwithstanding the consolation he enjoyed from theological studies, from an extensive epistolary correspondence, and from the good, though limited and secret, which he was enabled to accomplish, his residence in Aberdeen was marked by great mortification and sorrow, of which his "dumb Sabbaths" was one of the chief sources. "My silence on the Lord's day," he observes, "keeps me from being exalted above measure." "By reason of my silence, sorrow, sorrow hath filled me: my harp is hanged up on the willow trees, because I

am in a strange land." "Nothing out of heaven, next to Christ, is dearer to me than my ministry;" and "woe is me," he frequently said, "if I preach not the gospel*."

This deprivation was to him the more galling, when he called to mind "the fair days" he had had in Anwoth, and that the people of that parish, by his removal, had been left without a pastor. In their spiritual welfare, he felt an intense interest. He was afraid lest, in times of difficulty and trial, his labours of love among them might prove to have been in vain, and lest the engagements under which they had come to be the Lord's might be forgotten or violated. "I long exceedingly to know," says he in a letter to them, "if the oft spoken-of match betwixt you and Christ holdeth; and if you follow on to know the Lord: next to my Lord Jesus, and his fallen kirk, ye have the greatest share of my sorrow, and also of my joy." "Oh! how rich a prisoner were I, if

* *Letters*, Part I. § 5. 86. Rutherford's *Petition to the Commission of the General Assembly of 1638*. (Wodrow's MSS. Vol. LXII. art. 55.)

I could obtain of the Lord (before whom I stand for you,) the salvation of you all *."

The people of Anwoth were meanwhile placed under trying circumstances, inso-much that, while they were so devoted to Rutherford, that they considered themselves "as partakers of his sufferings, and as being in bonds with him," an attempt was made by Bishop Sydserff to settle among them a minister of Arminian and Episcopal principles. This intruder they successfully opposed, though at "the hazard of their persons and estates." They regarded themselves entitled to be consulted at least, if they did not possess a negative, in a matter so unspeakably important to them. They viewed their religious opinions as too evidently taught in Scripture, to be wantonly tampered with or compromised. They thought that a clergyman so justly obnoxious to them, and so ungraciously thrust in upon them, would have a most unpropitious effect both on their present peace and their eternal welfare. And they agreed with Rutherford in thinking, that the pa-

* *Letters*, Part I. § 2.

rochial charge of Anwoth, notwithstanding of his banishment, still legally and inherently belonged to him, and that he had God's warrant and right to it, of which no compulsory measures,—nothing but his own consent, and that of his flock, would deprive him *.

This agitated state of his parish, and the dread he felt lest an unsuitable person should be inducted in his room, embittered his confinement in Aberdeen, and caused him to long for deliverance. He accordingly urged his friends to use “honest and lawful means” to accomplish this object; but his wish was not merely to obtain freedom from confinement, but to be reinstated in his sacred office. He expressly declared, that unless he were restored to his people, liberty would be of little avail, for that “silence was his greatest prison †.”

This object, which was gained sooner than he had ventured to anticipate, was not accomplished by the interference or influence of his private friends, but was the result of

* Rutherford's *Petition to the Assembly, ut supra. Letters, Part I. § 26. 36. 102.*

† *Letters, Part I. § 125.*

the irresistible though unexpected triumph of public sentiment. When Charles I. was in Scotland, (1633,) Archbishop Laud had agreed with him respecting what they considered the nakedness of the Scottish form of worship. They had regretted that neither a book of canons nor a liturgy, both of which James the VI. had at one time contemplated, had been introduced; and they had expressed a desire that this defect, as they believed it, should be immediately supplied, in order that the church in both kingdoms might be as nearly assimilated as possible. This wish would have been forthwith carried into execution, had it not been that, though seconded by the younger portion of the Scottish prelates, who had obtained their preferment during the present reign, it was opposed by the sagacious remonstrances of the older and more experienced bishops. The latter, though it is probable they entertained a respect for popular sentiments, only so far as the stability of their order was concerned, represented to the king, that, as the ferment excited by the articles of Perth had not yet been allayed, any further innovations, particularly

such as were at present meditated, would be violently opposed, and might prove the ruin of the Episcopal cause. To these prudent remonstrances Charles at first paid some attention; but the junior prelates gradually increasing in number and influence, and their representations combined with those of several of the courtiers, coinciding with his own views, he issued a mandate to a few of the Scottish bishops to complete the book of canons *. These canons, when compiled, were submitted to Laud, and two other English prelates, to be revised; after which, having received the royal sanction, (1635,) they became law; and the bishops were strictly enjoined to circulate copies of them throughout their respective dioceses, and to see them recognized and punctually observed †.

The unconstitutional manner in which the book of canons was imposed, could not fail to occasion great dissatisfaction and alarm

* These prelates were, Sydserff of Galloway, Maxwell of Ross, Ballenden of Aberdeen, and Whiteford of Dunblane. Maxwell, who was author of the *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas*, will be afterwards mentioned. The book of canons was printed at Aberdeen, in 1636.

† Crawford's *Lives of Officers of State*, pp. 178—180. Row's *MS. History*, pp. 301—2. Wodrow's *MSS.* Vol. III. in *Life of Spottiswood*. Clarendon's *History*, Vol. III. pp. 84—6.

to the supporters of Presbyterian polity, and to all indeed who were not advocates for arbitrary power and passive obedience. They were introduced by a mandate from the king, without being submitted to the consideration of the church, whose interests and independence they so essentially involved. Though, from the time of the Reformation, ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Scotland had been uniformly regarded as vested in the General Assembly, a principle which, though sometimes overlooked, had never been denied even by the Episcopalian faction, the regulations introduced by the book of canons were the work of four prelates, eminent for nothing so much as servility and ambition; were revised and modified by a still smaller number of English bishops, not more respectable than their northern brethren, and more obnoxious, if possible, to zealous Presbyterians; and were made binding on the church by royal authority alone. The measure, too, was the more unpopular, as the Scots had become extremely jealous of the inhabitants of the sister kingdom, and felt alarmed lest, from want of spirit or vigi-

lance on their part, their country might seem but as a province of England*.

Obnoxious, however, as the canons were, on account of the circumstances in which they originated and were introduced, they were unspeakably more so, on account of the principles they inculcated; principles leading to the revival of Popery, and the very opposite of those entertained by the great body of the Scottish people. They prescribed a variety of ceremonial and superstitious observances as to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which Protestants had uniformly disclaimed. They indirectly recognized the practice of auricular confession, a species of clerical presumption known only in the Romish church. They invested the bishop with uncontrollable power, enacting that no private meetings whatever, if used for expounding Scripture, or treating of ecclesiastical affairs, should be held, these things being the prerogative of the Episcopal order alone; that without Episcopal authority, no person should be allowed to teach in the Universities, in public schools, or in private

* Guthrie's *Memoirs*, 19—22. Crawford's *Officers of State*, *ut supra*. Stevenson's *History*, pp. 153. *et seq.*

families ; and that, without the same authority, the higher order of church discipline should not be exercised by any clergyman. They inculcated the doctrine of the king's supremacy, affirming that no meeting of the General Assembly could be held, unless convoked by royal authority ; and they established excommunication, with confiscation of goods, and outlawry, its civil effects, as the punishment of those who should venture to impugn that doctrine. They enacted, that no clergyman should become surety for any person in civil contracts ; that bishops and the inferior clergy, not having children, should leave their effects, or a considerable part of them, to the church ; and that, if they had children, they should, nevertheless, bestow some legacies on the church for the advancement of religion and learning. These canons, with others of similar import, had a direct tendency to separate the clergy from the laity, and, contrary to the wish of the nation, to pave the way for an immense accumulation of ecclesiastical wealth *.

* Authorities last quoted, as also Laing's *History of Scotland*,

Such are some of the innovations contained in the celebrated book of canons: innovations the more formidable, as they were perfectly unconditional and peremptory, the last enactment providing that no person should be received into holy orders, unless he had previously subscribed these canons, and as in them civil and ecclesiastical interests were so blended, that it was impossible either to separate them, or say which of them was most violated. This was indeed so much the case, that many individuals, including the more moderate of the Episcopalian party, while they looked with unconcern on encroachments made on the Presbyterian cause, were alarmed in consequence of the danger that threatened the civil privileges of the nation. Nor did these innovations stop here; for, contrary to the plainest dictates of reason and common sense, it was enacted in one of these canons, that the liturgy, or book of common prayer, which was not yet composed, and of which none could say what might be the contents, should be recognized; that thus an obligation should be entered into, that its forms and doctrines, when drawn

out, should be rigidly adhered to ; and that, from the time of its publication, no clergyman should practise extemporary prayer.

The book of canons, therefore, so unconstitutionally introduced, so pregnant with mischievous principles, every friend of civil and religious liberty, particularly the favourers of the Presbyterian cause, were called upon to resist and expose. The introduction of it was accordingly met with violent opposition on the part of the Presbyterian leaders and their adherents ; the pulpit resounded with the severest invectives against it ; and not a few were willing, like Rutherford, rather to suffer every distress, than submit to the reception of it.

This opposition assumed, if possible, a bolder and more determined character, when (1637-8) the liturgy, as threatened, was attempted to be introduced. The liturgy, like the book of canons, was extremely obnoxious, on account both of the doctrines it contained, and of the source in which it had originated. It was in most respects a transcript from the English service-book,

but wherever it differed from it, it approached proportionably towards the Roman missal *; and it was enjoined to be adopted by regal authority alone, without having been submitted to the consideration either of the church or the privy council. Both the council and the older prelates, sensible of the impolicy of the measure, ventured to remonstrate; but the king shewed no inclination to retract; and they were soon obliged to withdraw their opposition. Every parish was, by royal proclamation, ordered to purchase two copies; the new form of worship was peremptorily enjoined to be observed; and a particular day fixed upon as the period of its introduction into Edinburgh,—which, it was supposed, would afford an example of compliance to the whole kingdom. The result of this attempt in the metropolis is well known; and the decided opposition which it there experienced, was the prelude

* The liturgy was composed by James Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, and John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, assisted by Sydeserff of Galloway, and Ballenden of Aberdeen. It was revised by Laud, and Wren, Bishop of Norwich. Kirkton saw the original copy corrected by Laud's own hand, and all his corrections approached toward Popery and the Roman missal. (*Kirkton's History*, p. 30.)

and signal of the reception it met with elsewhere. The people acted from principle, and they acted boldly. They thought, not without cause, that not only was Episcopacy, as it obtained in England, (which they disliked and condemned,) to be thrust in upon them, but that Popery was meant to be revived and established. This opinion resulted not merely from the nature of the service-book, which approached “as near the missal as English can be to Latin *,” and which recommended ceremonies and observances which every reformed church had discarded, but from the secret attachment to Popish principles, which some of the Scottish prelates, particularly Bishop Sydserff, were known to cherish †. The Presbyterians, therefore, saw that a determined stand required to be made against every attempt to shackle their conscience, or to make encroachments on that form of church discipline which they believed taught in Scripture; and rather than connive at the introduction of any

* Kirkton's *History*, as just quoted.

† Baillie's *Letters*, Vol. I. pp. 1, 2. Crawford's *Lives of Officers of State*, p. 180.

abuses, or allow any tampering with their religious principles, they were prepared to encounter every calamity, and to resist even unto blood.

The question was soon brought to a crisis. The attempts to introduce the liturgy having been every-where, with the exception of one or two places, as unsuccessful as in Edinburgh, coercion was unadvisedly adopted to enforce compliance. This, as is usual under similar circumstances, had an effect the reverse of what was intended, and indicated to those favourable to the Presbyterian interest, that more bold and decisive steps were necessary to stem the torrent by which they were threatened. The famous Alexander Henderson, accordingly, and other clergymen, against whom proceedings had been instituted in consequence of their non-conformity, petitioned the privy council to suspend these proceedings, as the new service had not yet been authorized by the church, or confirmed by parliament. These petitions were recommended by letters, or by personal application on the part of the chief nobility, and of private gentlemen. And so rapidly did the cause gain support-

ers, that, within two months after the liturgy had been endeavoured to be introduced, the original supplicants had received an accession of twenty peers, a large proportion of the gentry, and eighty commissioners from towns and parishes; and in the subsequent month, there were presented to the council supplications from no fewer than two hundred parishes. As their numbers encreased, their prospects widened, and their demands became more extensive; and though Charles had now granted to them the revocation of the liturgy, which was at first their only object, that concession would not have satisfied them; for, sensible of their strength, and more deeply impressed with the goodness of their cause, they aimed not merely at the prohibition of the service-book, but the abolition of the High Commission Court, and the repeal of the articles of Perth and the book of canons. They petitioned also for a free parliament and General Assembly; and in the meantime they applied for an interdict, prohibiting the prelates, (against whom they had previously preferred an accusation as the authors of the innovations,) from having

a seat in the council, as in disputes concerning religion, they were interested parties, and thereby incapacitated from acting as judges. This last measure, namely, the declinature of the bishops as members of council, had an effect which could not have been anticipated; for, finding that it was impossible for them to elude the vehemence of their opponents, and that little regard was paid in the council to their claims and privileges, the prelates voluntarily withdrew from that Assembly; a step calculated to inflame the opposition so obstinately directed against them.

The council, who had from the first secretly disapproved of the introduction of the liturgy, and consequently were not unfavourable to the opposition made to it, received their supplications, and transmitted them to London, though the king sometimes returned them unopened. The petitioners, meantime, though their cause was daily prospering, acted as if nothing had been gained, while any thing remained yet to be accomplished. They instituted the celebrated *Tables*, representing the different classes of persons who united in vin-

dicating the privileges of the church; one table representing the nobles, another the gentry, a third the ministers, and a fourth the inhabitants of burghs. These tables consisted of commissioners from their respective orders; and there was also a general table, composed of representatives from the four inferior tables, from which it received suggestions and instructions; the object of which was to carry into effect the measures that were thought necessary. Nor was this all. The Tables, to render their proceedings still more popular, and to establish a firmer bond of union, adopted a step fraught with uncommon advantages; they renewed the *Covenant*, modified a little, so as to answer the times, from that drawn up by the early reformers (1580); an engagement which the people venerated as that to which their ancestors had sworn, and with which, in their opinion, was associated a sacredness that no well-constituted mind, and no friend of civil and religious liberty, could contemplate with indifference. The supplicants, and others zealously attached to the Presbyterian faith, met on a day appointed in the Greyfriars'

Church of Edinburgh, where, with uplifted hands and joyful exultation, it was sworn and subscribed by an immense multitude of all ranks and denominations *. Copies were immediately transmitted, and commissioners despatched to the different counties; and “in a few days,” says Mr Laing, “the covenant sounded like an alarm through Scotland; and the people were roused and agitated by a zeal unfelt since the first Reformation.” It was eagerly embraced by every class, though in different degrees of enthusiasm. Aberdeen, as may be conceived, was, through the influence of the Earl of Huntly, the ministers of the city, and the professors in the university, almost the only place that withheld from subscribing, though even there, not a few were ready to rise superior to local prejudices, to exercise their own judgment, and to attach their name to a cause which was so universally regarded as that of religion and liberty †.

* When Archbishop Spottiswood, hearing of this ebullition of popular feeling, exclaimed, “Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past, is thrown down at once.” (*Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 35.)

† The commissioners to Aberdeen were Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, and Andrew Cant. Vide above, p. 97. *Bailie's Letters*, pp. 72—3. The king, having been informed of the

The king, meanwhile, bent on carrying his plan of uniformity into effect, lent a deaf ear to all the remonstrances, petitions, and memorials, which were presented to him. The representations and suggestions of the privy council, and several of his courtiers, were treated with the same disrespect as the supplications of the Presbyterians. Attached to his own opinions, and occupied with lofty ideas of prerogative, he disregarded the voice of his Scottish subjects, though loudly and respectfully raised; he trampled on their dearest rights; and acted as if the principles and privileges of the people ought to be sacrificed to the opinion, however absurd and illiberal, of the sovereign. There is a point, however, beyond which despotism cannot, in an enlightened age, be carried with impunity; and to this point Charles had already arrived. Had he attempted to carry his tyrannical proceedings farther, a civil war, (which yet soon took place,) must necessarily have been the

stand made by the people of Aberdeen against the covenant, wrote to the magistrates and council, and to the ministers and professors respectively, thanking them for their "dutiful" conduct. The Marquis of Hamilton, the royal Commissioner, addressed to the same individuals, two letters of similar import.

consequence; but to prevent this, and to allay at least, if not eradicate, the discontents that prevailed, he was induced at length, though after much temporizing and tergiversation, to make unconditional concessions to the covenanters, to discharge by proclamation the liturgy, the book of canons, and the high commission, and to summon a free General Assembly, (the great object which the petitioners had in view,) to meet at Glasgow in November 1638,—and a parliament in May of the subsequent year.

It was during the struggles and negotiations, thus summarily detailed, particularly on account of the reception by the privy council of the declination against the bishops, and the consequent triumph of liberal opinions, that Rutherford, though not legally released, ventured to leave Aberdeen, and return to his pastoral charge in Anwoth. This part of his history, however, we reserve for the subject of the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER V.

His return to Anwoth,—and the active part he took in the public affairs of the Church.—Free General Assembly held at Glasgow, with an account of its proceedings.—The gratitude and praise due to that Assembly.—The part that Rutherford took in its proceedings.

AT what particular date Rutherford left Aberdeen, can be known only from inference. It seems to have been in the month of February 1638, “six quarters of ane yeir^{*}” from the time of his banishment, (Aug. 1636,) at a period when the Episcopal interest was nearly annihilated, when the Tables had been for a few months established, and when the Covenant was about to be renewed. It was about the same time, or immediately afterwards, that presbyteries began to act an independent part, to

^{*} *Petition of the Elderschip and parraishinerie of ye parraish in of Anwoth, to the commissioner of the General Assembly in 1639, to be found in Wodrow's MSS. Vol. LXII. Art. 53. Adv. Library.*

rescue themselves from Episcopal thralldom, and to induct and ordain ministers without consulting the bishops, and even sometimes against their express injunction. Rutherford, withdrawing under such circumstances from his confinement, probably returned at once to Anwoth, or he may have stopped in Edinburgh, co-operating with his brethren in their resistance to the measures of the court; but, however he was employed, we hear no account of him, till the subsequent June, when we find him in the metropolis, associated with the eminent Presbyterian clergy, in exposing Prelacy. A fast day having been fixed upon in that month by the covenanters, Henry Rollock, Dr Robert Baillie, (to whose *Letters and Journal* we have so often referred,) and Dr Elliot, were appointed to preach in the College Church. Elliot being a non-conformist, and prohibited by the bishop to observe the fast, Rutherford was nominated to officiate in his stead. "The congregation," we are told, "was exceeding great," among whom were many of the nobility. "Mr Rutherford," says Baillie, in reference to this occasion, "has an excellent gift both of preach-

ing and prayer ; and, which helps all to the people's mind, fells all the fourteen bishops, and houghs the ceremonies *."

The mode of preaching *to the times*, as it was called, may now in these days of peace be regarded as injudicious, and as a prostitution of the services of the altar. We do not mean altogether to justify it ; but extraordinary occasions require extraordinary measures ; and the practice in question, besides, had been common long before the period to which our narrative refers, and it continued to be observed till the Revolution. Rutherford, therefore, in adopting it, merely followed the usage of his age, the neglecting of which was in some instances regarded as deserving of censure † ; nor did he carry it further than others, for he went but " little beyond" Henry Rollock, a very moderate man, and who, though a Calvinist, long inclined to Episcopal discipline ‡.— Let it be remembered also, that this mode of preaching on the part of the Presbyterians, was indispensibly necessary in order to counteract the effects of a similar proce-

* Baillie's *Letters*, I. 56.

† *Ib. ib.* 63.

‡ *Ib. ib.* 56.

dure on the side of their opponents, and to enforce on the attention of the people a correct opinion of the nature and tendency of the innovations endeavoured to be introduced.

The Marquis of Hamilton, who had been appointed commissioner to represent the king in Scotland, was offended with many of the Presbyterian clergy, in consequence of their having inculcated from the pulpit the extirpation of Episcopacy. Of these obnoxious persons, Rutherford is mentioned as one * ; but whatever opinion this nobleman may have formed of him, he daily increased in influence and esteem with the people, and the leaders of the party to which he belonged. On the renewal of the covenant, Andrew Cant and he were sent as commissioners to Glasgow, in consequence of the solicitation of the inhabitants of that city, to preach in the High Church there, preparatory to their giving their oath to that instrument †. These facts, with others, afford a clear proof of the high estimation in which he was held, and his intimate con-

* Baillie's *Letters*, I. 63.

† *Ib.* *ib.* 66.

nexion with the eminent supporters of Presbyterian polity.

While Rutherford was thus engaged, preparations were making for the meeting of the General Assembly ; which was at length summoned to convene at Glasgow on the 21st of the ensuing November. The Presbyterians had now gained so decided a superiority, and the conduct of Charles had been so arbitrary and hollow, that they had resolved, according to ancient precedents, to convoke that court by virtue of privileges inherent in the church, even though it should be forbidden by royal authority *. This resolution, which was intimated to the commissioner by the Tables, combined with the number and zeal of the covenanters, had the effect of inducing the king to make very important concessions, and to agree to the meeting of the Assembly. He wished, however, to impose conditions inconsistent with the freedom of that court, and thus to make it subservient to his own purposes : he wished to get it arranged that the moderators of Presbyteries, (who were either

* Baillie's *Letters*, I. 69, 70, 79.

the bishops or persons appointed by them,) whom the Tables had removed, should be replaced and admitted as constituent members ; or if this could not be obtained, that the members to the General Assembly should be chosen by the clergy alone ; and that the order of lay-elders, which had been instituted by the First Book of Discipline, but had been long disused, should not, as intended, be revived. These conditions, the object of which was too evident not to be seen, were strenuously and successfully opposed ; and Charles, after much temporizing and with great reluctance, was obliged to agree to the meeting of the Assembly on the terms which the covenanters had proposed, namely, that lay-elders should be recognized as constituent members of the inferior ecclesiastical courts, and eligible as commissioners of Assembly ; that not only should the former moderators of Presbyteries not be replaced, but that the prelates might be legally prosecuted by the Assembly, and their usurpations restrained, if not their order entirely suppressed.

The Tables, solicitous that the ensuing Assembly should be composed of persons at-

tached to the principles which they entertained, sent instructions to the several Presbyteries relative to the nomination of members ; and a fast day was observed throughout Scotland preparatory to the general election. The result was, if possible, more favourable than could have been expected ; scarcely any were nominated that were not firmly wedded to the Presbyterian faith ; and the Assembly was composed of persons, (a hundred and forty ministers, and ninety-five lay-elders,) distinguished by greater congeniality of spirit and conformity of views than is generally exhibited by any body of equal numbers. Rutherford was a member of it, as one of the representatives of the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright ; and though he seems not to have acted a very conspicuous part as a speaker or leader in that judicatory, yet a brief notice of its proceedings, as illustrative of the principles, both of himself and of the party to which he belonged, may not be unacceptable or uninteresting.

The Assembly, according to appointment, met on the 21st November, in the High Church of Glasgow. It embraced in the list of its members the most eminent of the

nobility and gentry of the country *. The prelates, instead of attending as summoned by his Majesty, endeavoured, in a declinature or protestation which they gave in against its authority, to shew that it was illegally constituted, and that the members of which it was composed could not, without a violation of the most obvious principles, sit as their judges ; alleging among other things, that they had pre-condemned Episcopal government ; that they had been elected, not so much by royal authority, as by the interference of the Tables ; and that the court which they formed consisted partly of laymembers, to whom under no circumstances clergymen were amenable. The declinature also contained allegations against particular members as incompetent, because they were lying under the censure either of the church of Ireland, where they had been settled, or of

* “ Because there has been no order hitherto anent the numbers of Commissioners, to be directed from every Presbyterie to the Generall Assembly, therefore it is statute and ordained, that in all time coming, three of the wysest and gravest of the brethren, shall be directed from every Presbyterie at the most, as Commissioners to every Assembly, and that one be directed from every Presbyterie in the name of the Barrons, and one out of every Burgh, except Edinburgh, which shall have the power to direct two Commissioners.” (Baillie's *MS. Letters*, apud annum 1638.) The Universities also were required each to send a Commissioner. A list of the members of the Assembly may be found in Stevenson's *History*, Vol. II. pp. 474—481.

the church of Scotland. The parties that had incurred the censure of the Scottish church, were Rutherford, David Dickson of Irvine, and Alexander Gordon of Earlston, elder for the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright. In order to remove every reasonable cause of objection, the parties accused were severally called on by the Moderator to exculpate themselves, and to submit for the consideration of the Assembly, the circumstances under which censure had been incurred. This task was easily performed: the accused even rejoiced that an opportunity had so happily occurred for vindicating themselves, and for exposing so publicly the unprincipled treatment which they had experienced. Robert Blair, in the name of himself, and of his friends from Ireland, “in a brave extempore harangue, showed at length that all the censures that had fallen on them, were not only alone for adhering to the discipline of the church of Scotland, but most unjustly inflicted *.” Rutherford, Dickson, and Earlston, respectively gave an equally satisfactory statement; and the de-

* Baillie's *Letters*, I. 121.

cision of the court, after parties had been heard, was favourable to the accused,—who were in consequence recognized as constituent members of the court *.

The independent character of the procedure which the Assembly had it in view to adopt, was soon unfolded. Sensible of the hardships under which the church had so long groaned, and aware that some decisive step was necessary to remove them, they were determined not to be satisfied with half measures, or be alarmed or gained over, either by the threats or the influence of the commissioner. While they treated him with all the respect due to his character, both as a public-spirited nobleman, and as the representative of majesty, they yet most strenuously, and often in direct opposition to his will, asserted and maintained their privileges as an independent Assembly, and as the organ of oppressed and persecuted church. When the declinature of the prelates was presented, and when in consequence the question was considered, whether, notwithstanding of this declinature, the bishops

* Baillie's *Letters*, I. 121.

were amenable to their judicatory, the decision was unanimously in favour of their competency as ecclesiastical judges. And when the commissioner, disappointed and enraged on account of the decision, dissolved the Assembly as a convention illegally chosen by laymen, and as incompetent for the trial of the Episcopal order, and discharged its future meetings under pain of treason, they boldly refused obedience to this abrupt, though not unexpected command, and resolved not to separate till they had redeemed the trust reposed in them, and had made those arrangements which the state of ecclesiastical affairs imperiously required. This refusal they made on the principle, now recognized on all hands, that the church is independent of the state, and that it was lawful for the General Assembly to meet without the sanction of the king.

Such was the fortitude and firmness manifested by the Assembly; and their procedure, after the commissioner had left them, was in unison with the spirit thus displayed. They passed a series of acts which had for

their object the restoration of the church, to the state in which it had been originally settled at the Reformation, and had continued till James on his accession had subverted it, in order to introduce his favourite hierarchy. They accordingly declared the six preceding Assemblies, as unfree and unlawful, unconstitutionally convoked, and deprived of the exercise of independent discussion, owing to the influence of the crown and the prelates. They annulled the articles of Perth, with all other enactments of whatever kind made by these pretended Assemblies. They released the clergy from the oath of conformity that had been exacted from them at their admission. They abolished the High Commission, the book of canons, and the liturgy. They declared Episcopacy not only as subverted, but as having been from the first illegal and unconstitutional, in direct opposition to the national covenant as subscribed in 1580, and to repeated acts of parliament, and of the Assembly of the church. Thus has it been emphatically and justly said, "the oppressive policy of two reigns was now subvert-

ed; and the baseless fabric of a Divine hierarchy was at once dissolved *."

The Assembly, after abolishing prelacy, proceeded to re-establish the Presbyterian constitution as to Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, as these had existed previously to the late corruptions, with all the privileges, liberties, powers, and jurisdictions they had formerly enjoyed. Not only, however, was Episcopacy abrogated, and Presbytery restored, but the bishops were cited to the bar of the Assembly, and their conduct and principles were made the subject of judicial investigation. The charges brought against them were numerous and various, such as the holding of Arminian doctrines, abetting or promoting the late innovations, deposing ministers without cause, administering improper oaths, simony, blasphemy, sabbath-breaking, profane swearing, fornication. And of the fourteen prelates, eight were excommunicated, four deposed, and the remaining two, on their timely submission,

* Laing's *History of Scotland*, III. 164.

were merely suspended from their ecclesiastical functions.

Had the Assembly stopt here, the members of whom it was composed, would have done enough to have shown the absurdity and impolicy of wantonly tampering, on the part of the crown, with the consciences and religious principles of a whole people, and to have entitled them to the lasting remembrance and gratitude of the adherents of that polity which they had so boldly vindicated. But they possess a still higher claim on our acknowledgement, and shewed in a still more unequivocal manner, the purity and disinterestedness of the principles on which they acted. They unanimously passed an ordinance against churchmen holding any civil appointment or office, discharging them from being members of parliament, or of the privy council, judges in the courts of Session or Exchequer, or justices of the peace: regulations highly honourable to those that made them, and which, as they are still in force, have been the means, more than any other circumstance, of securing in this country the important ends which it is the design of the pastoral office to accomplish. In ad-

dition to these regulations, they passed others of a similar tendency,—such as enjoining ministers to reside in their respective parishes, “for the better attending of the duties of their calling;” the erection of parochial schools where these were deficient; attention to those already established; and the visitation of colleges *.

We cannot conclude our brief account of this celebrated judicatory, without dwelling for a moment on the character of the men who composed it, and on the spirit they displayed. These men, we are aware, have been reprobated for arrogating to themselves powers which they could not constitutionally possess; for abrogating in a summary manner the acts of former Assemblies; and for interfering with rights which had obtained the sanction of parliament. This charge is more specious than just. The Assemblies which they condemned had been in fact illegally convened; had been deprived of all freedom of discussion by the influence of the crown and the prelates; and had undermined the ecclesiastical fabric raised by

* Dr Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Society*, p. 94.

former Assemblies, and ratified by parliament. The innovations lately introduced, were made neither by a free parliament, nor free Assemblies; and the supposed rights of the bishops were acquired in a similar way, were either gratuitously assumed, or were conferred by pretended Assemblies, or were the gift of the king without the knowledge or sanction of the church. The Assembly of Glasgow did not, we confess, shew any respect to these boasted rights, thus unconstitutionally acquired, or to the decision of former Assemblies, unlawfully convoked, and which could not in any sense be regarded as representing the church. They were men of too sound views, and were too faithfully attached to the Presbyterian cause, and to what they regarded as Scripture doctrine, to act any such part. They may, indeed, occasionally have displayed violence in their proceedings, and in some instances have offended against that christian charity, the want of which they reprobated in others; but let it be recollected, that they were placed in circumstances peculiarly trying, in which it was scarcely possible for errors not to be committed. The question

between Charles and his Scottish subjects had come to a crisis; and had the covenanters acted otherwise than they did, the church of Scotland, which their forefathers had established, would have been altogether destroyed; the predilections and principles of the great body of the people would have been sacrificed to the will of the sovereign, and a few ambitious prelates; and every thing like popular rights, or popular opinions, been eradicated for ever. Whatever opinions on this subject may have been promulgated by Episcopalian writers, we have no hesitation in characterizing the eminent individuals of whom we are speaking, as good men and true patriots*, of great singleness of heart and of purpose, whose sentiments as to civil and religious liberty were superior to their age, and who had the honesty and fortitude to profess and pro-

* The Assembly, though they continued to sit after the commissioner had in the king's name discharged their meeting, did not lay aside allegiance to royal authority; and though they asserted, and acted upon this doctrine, that "they had a right from God, which the prince could not in law or reason take from them, to keep a General Assembly," yet they uttered none but the most loyal sentiments, and conducted themselves in every way as became subjects; and concluded their proceedings by voting a humble supplication to his Majesty, couched in the most becoming terms, and affording, both in its letter and spirit, a complete refutation of the want of loyalty and disobedience, which had been brought against them.

claim these sentiments in the face of danger. And it may be mentioned as a striking proof of the judicious and enlightened character of their procedure, that they laid the foundation of our church, as it now stands, and the greater number of their enactments are in force till this day *.

Of this Assembly Rutherford, as previously intimated, was a member, as one of the representatives of the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright. He is, however, mentioned but seldom as having taken any active part in the business of the court. He was appointed a member of the committee, nominated to take into consideration the grievances under which the church had so long laboured, particularly in regard to the liturgy, book of canons, ordination, and the high commission, that it might be seen from what corruptions the church had been delivered, and how necessary the measures were, which had been taken for their removal. Hav-

* For a full account of the proceedings of this Assembly, see its published *Acts*; *King's Large Declaration*, 1639, p. 1—9. written by Walter Balcanqual; *Baillie's Letters*, Vol. I. *Guthrie's Memoirs*; *Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*; *Life of Spotswood* in *Crawford's Officers of State*; *Stevenson's History*, Vol. II.

ing become distinguished as an ardent and able opponent of Arminianism, when James Affleck, a member of the Presbytery of Dundee, was accused of inclining to that system, he was with others appointed to "deal" with him respecting his errors. His name also occurs incidentally, as connected with another discussion *; but with these exceptions, there is no mention of him in the proceedings of the Assembly; and of these occasions nothing more minute is specified than what we have just stated. But though he may not have acted a very prominent part as a leader or speaker, we may with propriety infer, from the characteristic ardour of his feelings, and from his previous history, that none felt more deeply interested in the great questions that were agitated, or was more anxious for the triumph of Presbyterian principles, and the extinction of the Episcopal order and discipline.

* Baillie's *Letters*, I. pp. 121, 146, 108.

CHAPTER VI.

Application from St Andrew's and Edinburgh respectively, to obtain Rutherford.—His reluctance to leave his flock,—and his Petition to the Church on that subject.—After much delay, appointed by the Assembly to be Professor of Divinity at St Andrew's.—The nature of his reluctance to leave his former charge considered.—His removal from Anwoth,—and settlement at St Andrew's.

THE Assembly, of which we have just given an account, made many arrangements, both of a local and general nature, respecting the church, to which we have not had occasion to allude. Among others, it ordained the translation of several clergymen of eminent talents and qualifications, from remote or small parishes, to parishes of greater importance, or to charges either in the Universities, or in large towns. The subject of these pages was a man of too high a character to be allowed, under such circumstances, to remain in the remote parish of Anwoth.

Counter-applications were made by the city of Edinburgh, and the University of St Andrew's, to obtain the benefit of his services; the former soliciting to have him appointed one of the ministers of the city, the other craving to have him nominated professor of Divinity in the New College. These applications, however, were not made to the Assembly, but to the commission, appointed by the Assembly to watch over the interests of the church, till the next meeting of that supreme judicatory: and the commission, without shewing a due regard to his own sentiments on the subject, or those of his people, or of the Presbytery to which he belonged, ordained him to be translated to the chair of Divinity in St. Andrew's. This preferment, it may perhaps be imagined, was gratifying to his feelings, particularly as it was equally unexpected and unsolicited on his part, and as the duties of the office to which it raised him, had so long been congenial to his mind and studies, and opened up for him a wider field of usefulness. Gratifying, indeed, in some respects it must have been; but it was also the source of very opposite sentiments,

and filled him with much sorrow and regret, insomuch that he declined compliance with it by every means in his power. He was unwilling, in those critical times, to abandon a flock who had suffered much on his behalf, who were endeared to him by many interesting associations, and in regard to whose spiritual welfare he felt that a deep responsibility had devolved upon him; but his resistance to the appointment was grounded chiefly on the principle (which we have seen him before recognize *,) that as the lawful induction of a clergyman to a pastoral charge, required the invitation of the people, and the sanction of the Presbytery of the bounds, it was indispensibly necessary, in order to withdraw constitutionally or conscientiously from that charge, to obtain the consent and approbation of the same parties. On this ground alone he would, we think, have opposed the decision of the commission. But he urged various other reasons, which were enforced in a petition presented by him to the commission, and drawn up in a spirit and with an earnest-

* Vide pp. 78—9. of this Work.

ness that cannot be too highly praised. As this document has not hitherto appeared in print, and as it is curious and important, we think no apology necessary in submitting it to the notice of our readers.

“ 1. This reverent and venerable meeting wold be pleised to consider, if ane act passed concerning ane brother, never hard, his flock, his Presbytrie never hard, and that warranting him to transport [to be transported] to either Edinburgh or St Andrews quhairof the on place is without the boundes of the commission granted to the present meeting, if, (I say,) such an act can conveniently be pressed and put in execution, useing the judgment, gravitie, and prudence of this worthie meeting.

“ 2. May it pleas this reverant seat to considder if ane people whoe hath been partakers of the sufferinges of their pastor, as living in bondes with him, and whoe have hazard their persones and estates to oppose ane intruder, wold be mad sadde by the blessing of ane Generall Assemblie quhilk is the publik joy of this nation and Church.

“ 3. The inabilitie of a pastore's bodie

and giftes of mynd wold be considdered as causes of none-transportation, quhen a pastor is readdie to depone upon his oath, he findeth a want in both, if he be burdened with the charge of ane numerous multitude in a burghe, and in such a burghe.

“ 4. Let it be considred, if on whoe dare not be able to answer to Christ for a lesser charge, sould be burdened with a more weightie.

“ 5. Bethink it wold seam scarce modestie to ane pastor to desyr this reverent seat to ask the judgements of ane great countrey in this matter of transportation, yet being necessitated thairunto, he may referre it to the grave considderation of this worthie seat, if it be convenient to grieve mony whoe hath done good service to Christ in this publick reformation, and that at such a tyme.

“ 6. As the lawfull calling of ane pastor to the flock of Christ requireth the consent, vowes, and approbation of the people and Presbytrie, soe it would seam als necessaire that ane lawfull lousing of him from the flock, cannot be without the consent and vowes of the said flock and Presbetrie.

“ 7. This reverent judicatorie would be pleysed in the fear of God, to considder how easie it is to command transportation, and how hard it wold seam if much be not deferred to the inward libertie, and inclination of mynd in the pastor transported, whoe being constrained by the reverent estimation of ane grave meeting of the learned and holie, yet cannot find libertie of spirit to pray for a blissing on his laboures els quhair.

“ 8. To remove him from a pastorall charge, whoe is under a woe if he prieche not, and impose on him the charge of ane doctor, seameth unlawful and most difficill *.”

His extreme unwillingness to be separated from his flock, is also occasionally alluded to in his letters written at this period. “ I must entreat you, and your christian acquaintances, in the parish [of Kilmacolm,] to remember me to God in your prayers, and my flock and ministry, and my

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. LXII. Art. 55. Adv. Library. The document is in the hand-writing of Rutherford, whose signature is appended to it. It bears no date; but the occasion on which it was written, is perfectly palpable. The last word which I have made *difficill* is scarcely legible, and I am uncertain whether I am right

transportation and removal from this place, which I fear at this Assembly *.” “ My removal from my flock, is so heavy to me, that it maketh my life a burden to me : I had never such a longing for death : the Lord help and hold up sad clay †.”

This representation and opposition on his part did not, however, prevail. Nor were two similar petitions presented to the commission, the one from “ Galloway,” the other from “ the elderschip and parraishnerie of ye parraishin of Anwoth,” more successful. But these petitions (a copy of which may be found in the Appendix ‡,) were equally honourable to the person who was the object of them, and the parties whose sentiments they expressed. They bear the signatures of almost all the influential clergymen and gentlemen in the parish and county to which Rutherford belonged ; the petition of Anwoth having appended to it one hundred and eighty names, while the other exhibits nearly two hundred, though the exact number cannot be ascertained from the defaced nature of the

* *Letters*, Part II. § 2. † *Ib.* *ib.* § 26. ‡ Note F.

manuscript. Both of them are expressed in terms the most high and encomiastic, and unequivocally show in what estimation the subject of these pages was held by those who had the best means of being acquainted with his character. Never, indeed, were public testimonies of respect shewn to any individual more flattering or unexceptionable, or better calculated to excite correspondent sentiments in the minds of those to whom they were addressed, or to whom they might become known *.

In these petitions were expressed reasons against the removal of Rutherford, which he could not with propriety have urged in his own memorial; as for example, the great success he had experienced in his ministry. "It hath pleased God," to use the words of the petition of his parishioners,

* Wodrow's *MS. ut supra*, where (Nos. 53 and 54.) the original copies of these petitions have been preserved. They may be found, as just stated, quoted at length in the Appendix, Note F.

In the same volume (No. 56.) there is a paper entitled, "reasons why Mr Samuell Rutherford should not be transported from the place where he is." It is anonymous. It mentions that half of the parishes in Galloway were vacant, and that "the principall meanes whereby the bodie of the genterie thair (at this time wanting a head,) is united and stirred up, is some few ministers of whom he is the principall." It then mentions the supplication of the "large shyre," and the "laick of a competant provision" for a successor to him in Anwoth. It is very short, not being above half the ength of Rutherford's own petition.

“ so to evidence his calling hier by his blessing on his laboures amongst us, ye consequence whereof we find to be ane mutuall union of our heartis betwixt him and us.” The other reasons insisted on, were his want of health, “ his bodilie infirmitie,” to which he had himself alluded ; the want of a sufficient stipend to obtain the services of another clergyman, the greater part of Rutherford’s income “ being a voluntarie contribution, and the contract for his maintenance being made out only to himself ;” a prevailing faction of papists, and enemies to reformation, both in Galloway, and the neighbouring county of Dumfries ; the greater leisure he would enjoy in Anwoth, “ to profit the kirk by his pen than if he were in a more eminent place ;” the paucity of able clergymen in that province, and the discouragement which his removal would occasion to the few that remained. These and other reasons were dwelt upon, and would undoubtedly in ordinary cases have been sufficient for the object which the petitioners had in view ; but the commission were deaf to every appeal ; the public interests of the church prevailed ; and it was

ordained, that Rutherford should be removed from his flock, and settled as professor of Divinity in St Andrew's.

He was not, however, appointed to St Andrew's without a struggle being made for him on the part of the city of Edinburgh. This latter place, indeed, must at one time have been considerably confident of securing his services; for he was elected by the magistrates, one of the ministers of that city, on the 27th of February 1639 *, two months after the rising of the Assembly of Glasgow. But whatever was his character as a preacher, he was regarded, from his learning and from the great interest he had paid to the controversies that then agitated the Protestant Churches, as peculiarly well qualified for the profession of Divinity. It was accordingly objected to his removal to a Church in the capital, that the Divinity chair was not vacant in the University of that town, but that it was vacant at St Andrew's, "where he may," to use the words of a manuscript document of that period, "be

* *Records of the City of Edinburgh.*

able in few yiers to make many able ministers *.” From the same source we learn, that many suitable clergymen might be found for supplying the churches in the metropolis, where indeed there were “a good number of ministers singularly eudowed; but that few could be found qualified to the chair of Divinity at St Andrew’s, and none so able as he †.” It was also stated, in the true spirit of rivalry that obtained between these two seminaries, that if such opposition continued to be made on the part of the patrons of the college of Edinburgh, they would “discover ane intention to build colleges to themselves upon the ruines of this famous university ‡.” On these grounds it was that the application from St Andrew’s prevailed over that from the city of Edinburgh.

But though the commission of the Church had thus ordained his removal from An-

* Wodrow’s *MSS. ut supra*, No. 57. This article, which is anonymous, enforces the claims which St Andrew’s had to the services of Rutherford, in opposition to those urged on the part of Edinburgh. These claims were at this time the more pertinaciously pled on both sides, as the same two towns had been before opposed to each other in their solicitation, to procure the ministerial services of the famous Alexander Henderson. Edinburgh had been successful on that occasion; so that the other competitor was now the more urgent.

† *Ib. ib.*

‡ *Ib. ib.*

woth, he still entertained hopes that the General Assembly, which was appointed to take place in the ensuing month of July, would be induced not to confirm that nomination, but to yield to his own ardent solicitations, or those of his people and supporters in Galloway. He accordingly declined complying with it till the Assembly should meet. But his hopes were disappointed. That court sustained the proceedings of the commission; and nothing was left him but calmly to submit to the decision.

This reluctance on the part of Rutherford to leave his people, resulted from the purest and most disinterested feelings. The charge of Anwoth was remote, and comparatively unimportant; and he could not, while he held it, maintain much intercourse with the more eminent of the clergy, or exercise great influence on the state of the church. His influence, indeed, could not extend beyond the parish, or at farthest the province in which he resided. The nature of the situation which he was appointed to occupy in St Andrew's, was the very reverse of this. It was in truth one of the most important offices that a clergyman

could fill. It was calculated to bring him into direct communication with the distinguished supporters of the Presbyterian polity, and to afford him a most favourable opportunity of impressing his own sentiments and views on the character of the church. Never in fact could any appointment possess stronger recommendations, or be more urgently pressed on the acceptance of any individual, than the one in question. But these inducements, however powerful, were not sufficient to impair his attachment to his flock ; to whom, as we have already seen, he regarded himself as united by the most sacred obligations ; and under the influence of feelings which cannot be too highly praised, and which (we regret to say,) are no longer exhibited in our church, he resisted, so long as he could, the preferment pressed upon him, and disregarded all the advantages, both of a personal and public nature, with which it could not fail to invest him.

When at length he found it necessary to acquiesce in the appointment, his solicitations and remonstrances were yet successful in one point. While in Aberdeen, he had

often said, that “his silence on the Lord’s day” was his greatest grief; and we have already found him declare, that “wo is me if I preach not the gospel*.” Though in his new charge, he was to be employed in the high office of giving instructions in theology, to the youths who were destined to be the future ministers of the church, he could not submit to the thought of being prohibited all clerical duty, and again of experiencing “dumb Sabbaths.” This Assembly, therefore, on his urgent supplication, yielded to his wishes on the subject, and appointed him colleague to Robert Blair, who had been recently appointed one of the ministers of St Andrew’s †.

Rutherford left Anwoth, and removed to the scene of his new duties, about October

* Vide pp. 110. 153. of this Work.

† Blair, of whom we have already spoken, had, on his venturing to return to Scotland, been inducted to one of the charges in Ayr, in the beginning of 1638, the time when Rutherford returned to Anwoth. The Assembly of Glasgow ordained him to be translated to St Andrew’s, as one of the ministers of that city: an appointment which he earnestly and perseveringly resisted. The people of Ayr, “with tears” deprecated the measure. (Baillie’s *Letters*, I. 147.) Indeed they kept him among them “almost by force,” till the meeting of the subsequent Assembly, when, in spite of their “tears,” and his “prayers,” he was forced to yield obedience to the authority of the court.—(Ib. ib.) Many instances of this violent translation of clergymen, took place under similar circumstances at this period; the resistance made both by pastor and people, affords us a delightful proof of the purity by which the church was then characterized.

1639, as on the 15th of that month, Robert Hamilton of Kinkell, and Mr David Nave, student in the New College, commissioners appointed on the part of St Andrew's, for bringing him thither, "get three hundred merks for their expenses*." On the 19th of the ensuing month, he was inducted by the Presbytery as colleague to Mr Blair; and he had, it is probable, commenced his labours in the college, previously to that date †. Under what feelings he bade his flock farewell, we are not told; but we may infer from the great reluctance with which both he and they acquiesced in his translation, and the means they used to prevent it, and from the interesting character of their connexion, that it cost both parties a violent struggle to tear asunder the ties and sympathies that had so long obtained between them. By whom he was succeeded in Anwoth, I have not learned; nor do I know, that amid the multiplicity of his engagements, he had again the satisfaction

* MS. notices obtained from the Kirk Session Records of St Andrew's, for which I am indebted to a kind communication of the Rev. Hew Scott. David Nave or Nevoy, was afterwards a regent in St Leonard's College, St Andrews, and on the Restoration of Charles II. created one of the Lords of Session. (*Hailes' Catalogue of Lords of Session.*)

† Mr Scott's MS. notices.

of visiting his former flock, or of occupying that pulpit which he had so long adorned *. Not even any letters addressed after this time to his friends in Anwoth, have been preserved ; so that we are at a loss to ascertain what connexion, if any, subsisted between them during the subsequent part of his life. But we are entitled to conclude, both from the nature of the union that had so long bound them together, and from the circumstances under which they parted, that they did not cease to remember each other ; that each was the object of the prayers of the other ; and that the effects of his ministry were evident among his people many years after he had been removed from them.

* For some notices relative to his Church, which still remains, and to the house in which he resided while in Anwoth, with other particulars, see Appendix, Note G.

CHAPTER VII.

An account of the College of which Rutherford was now a member.—Important nature of that situation,—and the manner in which he discharged the duties of it.—A sketch of the public affairs of the Church,—War,—Peace.—Presbyterian polity again recognized in a free General Assembly,—and by Parliament.—Private Meetings or Conventicles,—and Rutherford's sentiments in regard to them.—Their character.—He receives a call to the ministry of West Calder,—which he is not allowed to accept.—His marriage.

THE college of which Rutherford was a member, was founded by Archbishop Beaton, uncle to the cardinal of that name, and was the most recent of the three colleges of which the University of St Andrew's was composed. It was originally meant to contain classes for grammar, logic, ethics, mathematics, theology, medicine, the civil and canon law: but this intention was soon relinquished; and various modifications were

contemplated or introduced in consequence of the progress of the Reformation, and the triumph of liberal opinions. But it was not till 1579, that the constitution of this seminary underwent a complete change, and was appropriated solely to the study of Divinity and the languages connected with it; a result brought about by the interference of the Legislature and the General Assembly: but the plan of academical study, and the division of academical labour which it embraced, were owing chiefly, if not altogether, to our illustrious countrymen, George Buchanan, and Andrew Melville *. St Mary's College, according to the new arrangement, was to comprise a principal, who was to prelect on Divinity, and four professors, who were to have separate departments of theology assigned to them. This admirable scheme of instruction, "which," says an excellent judge, "was the most liberal and enlightened which had yet been established, so far as he knew, in any European university †," was not carried into full effect; and the

* Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, 2d edit. pp. 178—9. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, I. pp. 242—7.

† *Life of Melville*, I. p. 245.

New College could never boast of the number of professors prescribed for her.

In the year 1638, when Presbytery became triumphant, there were three professors in this seminary,—of whom Dr Howie, the principal, successor to Andrew Melville, was one. Though at one period of his life, he had been a staunch supporter of Episcopacy, yet by subscribing the covenant, and by the recognition of the Assembly of Glasgow which overturned prelacy, and of Presbytery as it was now established, this eminent individual retained till his death, the situation which he had held since 1608: but his colleagues, Dr Panther*, and Dr Bar-

* “The next was Dr Panther, professor of St Andrews. I never saw the man; but his *Valaidos* makes me love him as one of the best poets I know now living. The man has a bonny spirit, some thing in all sciences; but St Andrews was far in the wrong to advance him to a divinity profession, before he had well learned the grounds of that profession or science. He was never diligent; but he had no sooner settled himself in his charge, till he began to recommend the English method of study, to begin with the Popish schoolmen and others, and to close with Protestant Neotoricks; a most unhappy and dangerous order! I hear in his public notes, he has deviated to the Popish justification, and in his discourses to the grossest Pelagianism, in original sin, let be in other points of Arminianism. Did not the heathen cry for vengeance against our bishops, though we had been dumb, who did hear and see our church undermined with such instruments of their own making and maintaining?” (Baillie’s *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 123.) The poem alluded to by Dr Baillie, is entitled *Panteri Valliados libris tribus opus inchoatum*. Edin. 1633, 8vo. The subject, as the name imports, is the praise of Sir William Wallace. The work has been inserted in Sir Robert Sibbald’s publication entitled *De Gestis Gulielmi Vallae Herois Scoti Collectanea Varia*. Edin. 1705, 8vo.

ron, were ejected from their offices, or withdrew from them on account of their attachment to Episcopacy, and the alleged unsoundness of their theological views. On Rutherford's appointment, Howie and he were the only professors in the New College; for it was not till three years afterwards, that Alexander Colville, who was brought thither from Sedan, where he had held a similar charge, was inducted as the third teacher of Divinity.

Of the important nature of the situation to which the subject of this memoir was now raised, there can be no doubt. It was undeniably an office of equal difficulty and responsibility. St Andrew's having been the seat of the primate of Scotland, was the very strong-hold of Episcopacy; and under the influence of the enemies of the late innovations, the university and town had at first refused to sign the covenant, or adopt Presbyterian principles, though afterwards, on the downfall of prelacy, not "a bur-gess," we are told, declined; and even of the professors and ministers some recognized the dominant party, while others, rather than do so, either retired from their

charges, or allowed themselves to be superseded*. The primary object of Rutherford's appointment, was not so much to instruct or gain over the citizens, as to reform the college with which he was more immediately connected, and to inculcate right principles, both theological and ecclesiastical, on the youths who were destined to be the future ministers and supporters of the church. And for this there seems to have been ample occasion; for, says M'Ward, who was an eye-witness of what he relates, "The university of St Andrew's was the very nursery of all superstition in worship, and error in doctrine, and the sink of all profanity in conversation among the students†."

Of his course of lectures, or of the manner in which he discharged his new duties, we cannot give a minute account. As at first Dr Howie and he were the only masters, and as the former, from his advanced years, cannot be supposed to have been at this time a very efficient teacher, the whole

* *Baillie's Letters*, I. pp. 45. 49. 74. 118.

† Address to the "Christian Reader," prefixed to the first edition of Rutherford's *Letters*.

duties must have devolved on Rutherford ; who, while he lectured on systematic Divinity, had also to give instructions in Hebrew and ecclesiastical history. The substance of his work entitled, *Disputatio Scholastica de Divina Providentia*, was originally delivered to his students in his lectures ; and an abstract of part of his course has been handed down to us by William Tullidelph, afterwards principal of St Leonard's College *. These are the only two specimens we know of the nature and character of his prelections ; and a careful examination of them will give us a pretty correct idea of his merits as a public teacher of theology. His published work, to which we shall again have occasion to advert, abounds with varied erudition, but is marked, we confess, with scholastic jargon, to a degree which renders it at the present day extremely forbidding, or altogether useless ; and

* This abstract of Rutherford's lectures is written in Latin, (in which language they were delivered,) and has been preserved in MS. For a perusal of it, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Dr Lee. It extends to 171 densely written 4to pages. In the same hand writing, and in the same volume, are abstracts of sermons, (written in English,) preached at St Andrews by Robert Blair, Rutherford's colleague in the ministry. The sermons thus recorded, began on the 14th Sep. 1652, and continued till the 30th Nov. 1657.

we are led to wonder, on perusing it, that such a composition should ever have been regarded as suited to the capacities, or favourable to the improvement, of theological students. Condensation, either in thought or in style, was a character of discussion with which Rutherford, and not a few of his reverend contemporaries, appear to have been entirely unacquainted : on the contrary, every point, however minute or trivial, connected with the subject under consideration, was traced and analysed with a laboriousness and a subtlety quite unworthy of it. The work in question, besides being distinguished by the scholastic character of the times, is extremely unpractical, consisting almost entirely of polemical disquisitions ; the object seeming to be as much to refute an antagonist, as to enforce religious truth, or biblical learning. When the topics of which the book treats, were discussed in the class, the professor may have given a more useful and practical turn to the subject,—and there is every reason to believe, that such was the case ; but when given to the world through the press, the author imparted to them that dry and uninviting

form, (as indeed the title insinuates,) from which biblical critics and polemics may derive instruction, but which, to young men entering on the study of theology, are comparatively uninteresting and unprofitable.

Inasmuch, however, as the *Disputatio Scholastica* was unsuitable to the object for which it was intended, the specimens of the lectures preserved by Tullidelph, are of a totally opposite tendency, being admirably calculated, from the simplicity, and the practical, though not uncritical nature of the discussion, to excite and reward the attention of the student. The lectures, of which these specimens contain an abstract, embraced many important subjects. They comprehended an investigation into the necessity, the nature and object of a divine revelation. They included a well written and elaborate enquiry, as to what forms the canon of inspired truth. They also embraced the question, as to the utility and authority of standards, and confessions of faith ; which he endeavoured to shew to be necessary, sanctioned by Scripture, and obligatory. Such is the scope of the abstract which Tullidelph has left us ; and if we take

it, so far as it goes, as a due specimen of the academical labours of Rutherford, (in which light, I think, we are entitled to regard it, and to view the Scholastic Disputation as a work purely polemical,) we must form a highly favourable opinion of him as a professor of Divinity. This inference is corroborated by those who possessed the best opportunities of judging. "God," says one of his pupils, "did so singularly second his indefatigable pains, both in teaching and in preaching, that the university forthwith became a Lebanon, out of which were taken cedars for building the house of the Lord, through the whole land *."

While the negotiations regarding Rutherford's translation to St Andrew's, were going on, and while he was thus performing the duties of his new charge, the public affairs of the church were not continuing stationary. The proceedings of the Assembly already detailed, were so obnoxious to the king, that when the supplication voted at the conclusion of the meeting was presented to his Majesty, he expressed him-

* Preface to Rutherford's *Letters*, *ut supra*.

self as deeply offended, and declined to return any answer to it *. This conduct brought matters to a crisis. Both parties prepared for war, though the covenanters protested, that they were warmly attached to the king ; that a necessity was imposed on them to guard their religious and civil privileges ; and that the moment these were guaranteed to them, they would at once lay down their arms. The circumstance of a people struggling for their dearest rights, combined with the moderation and piety which they had uniformly manifested, imparted an interest to their cause, that animated almost every individual in Scotland, and made its way even into the camp of the enemy.

The following particulars, relative to the spirit which pervaded the Scottish army, would lose much of their charm in being embodied in other words. “ Every company had, fleeing at the captain’s tent-door, a brave new colour, stamped with the Scot-

* “ His Grace, [the Marquis of Hamilton,] took it, and on his knee read it to his Majesty in the council. The brief answer it got was, “ When they have broken my head, they will put on my cowl.” (Baillie’s *Letters*, I. p. 150. Vide also Guthrie’s *Memoirs*, pp. 50—1.)

tish arms, and the motto, FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT, in golden letters." "Our soldiers grew in experience of arms, in courage, in favour daily. Every one encouraged another. The sight of the nobles, and their beloved pastors, daily raised their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and evening, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrances very frequent of the goodness of their cause; of their conduct hitherto by a divine hand, made them as resolute for battle as could be wished." "Had you lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading Scripture, ye would have been refreshed." "I never," says Baillie, and a similar remark was applicable to all, "I never found my mind in better temper, than it was all that time since I came from home; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return. I found the favour of God shining upon me, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet

strong and vehement spirit leading me all along*."

Under such circumstances on the side of the Presbyterian forces, the two armies came within sight of each other near Berwick; and in a skirmish that took place, the northern troops obtained the superiority, and caused the royalists to make an ignominious retreat. Notwithstanding of this advantage, however, the Scots, instead of shewing any desire to protract the war, made proposals of peace, which were with sufficient readiness listened to; and a treaty was concluded, (June 18th 1639,) four months after the commencement of hostilities. The terms were abundantly favourable to the Presbyterians. As the king expressed a determination not to ratify the enactments of the Assembly of Glasgow, and as the Scots refused as obstinately to annul them, it was stipulated, for the purpose of compromising all differences, that a free General Assembly should be held in

* Baillie's *Letters*, I. pp. 174—7. Dr Baillie was an eye-witness of what he describes, having attended the army in the capacity of a chaplain. "I carried myself," says he, "as the custom was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle," (I. p. 174.) Every regiment was attended by a chaplain.

the ensuing month of August, and a parliament immediately afterwards ; to the decision of which courts every dispute was to be referred. When these terms were agreed upon, both parties disbanded their forces, and the covenanters delivered up, according to treaty, the various fortresses which they had seized.

The Assembly (of which Rutherford was a member,) met, as stipulated, in the month of August ; and its proceedings, as might have been expected, were exactly of the same tendency as those of its predecessor, which had given such distress to the king ; and yet, such is the progress and force of popular opinions, the Earl of Traquair, the royal commissioner, not only agreed to ratify them, but consented to subscribe that obnoxious bond, the covenant ; which was ordained, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censure, to be subscribed by all ranks. The privy council, moreover, gave to this obligation the sanction of their authority, and attached their signature to it *.

Charles was highly displeased with Tra-

“ I cannot retract.”
* Ib. ib. pp. 199. 100.

quair, on account of his ready acquiescence; and afraid lest the parliament, which met the third day after the rising of the Assembly, should exhibit a similar spirit, he prorogued it ere the bill for removing Episcopacy was presented. But this arbitrary conduct could neither promote his favourite polity, nor check the march of public sentiment; and in the parliament which met, (under peculiar circumstances, as we shall afterwards see,) in June following, every act of the Assembly respecting the Presbyterian faith, obtained the sanction of the supreme court, and became the law of the land.

In the Assembly of 1639, a subject was introduced of great importance, but which was not fully considered till the subsequent meeting of that judicatory, which took place at Aberdeen, in July 1640. This subject, as Rutherford took a decided part in the discussion of it, requires to be narrated with considerable minuteness.

Presbytery, as previously mentioned, prevailed much in the north of Ireland, insomuch that many Scotsmen, both clergymen and laymen, took refuge in that king-

dom. But at length the Presbyterians there were not allowed the free exercise of their religion ; the people were deprived of their ministers, and were urged by the bishops to countenance Episcopacy, and the ceremonies connected with it. This they refused to do ; and that they might not be altogether deprived of the benefit of religious worship, they adopted the plan of private meetings, to promote, by prayer, exhortation, and reading, their mutual instruction and consolation. Gratified as they were by the facility with which they expressed themselves, and comforted by these sacred exercises, their attachment to them received a great impulse by the fellowship they formed with some of the followers of Brown, the celebrated founder of Independency, and by the views they had formed of emigrating to New England, where the religious polity which bears his name prevailed. Many of them having fled to Scotland, introduced into that country the practice in question ; which, indeed, they there carried to so great an extent, as to condemn all who did not unite with them. From the respect entertained for them, on account of

the persecution they had experienced, and the piety of which they were evidently possessed, such meetings were at first overlooked; but these were at length carried to so great a height, and had gained such encouragement, not only from persons of rank, but from several of the strictest of the clergy, such as Rutherford, Robert Blair, and David Dickson, that the church took the alarm, and the subject attracted the notice of the ecclesiastical judicatories. This abuse, as it was considered by some, was brought under the consideration of the Assembly of 1639; and Henderson, the great leader of the church, and Calderwood, the celebrated historian, with many others, who feared the introduction of Brownism or Independency, violently denounced it, and proposed an act for its prevention:—while Rutherford and his friends resisted such a proceeding, and moved that a conference should be held, so that ministers might unite their judgments on the question, and if any thing was found amiss, might, afterwards, by private admonition, effect a removal of the evil. This overture was carried; and the committee was appointed, consisting of the most

eminent of the clergy, of whom Rutherford was one : and the result of their discussions at several meetings was, that however such practices might be necessary in times of persecution, yet now, as the church was regularly constituted, they could not but be disallowed, as tending to the hindrance of family-worship, to the prejudice of the public ministry, and impairing the unity and harmony of particular congregations.

But the evil complained of, could not be expected to be checked by any such means. The vehemence of Henderson and his coadjutors, served merely to attach the new sect more strongly to their own opinions ; in which they were still farther confirmed by the arrival of some Independents from England, by whom they were joined, and by the countenance still shewn them by several of the clergy. In consequence of this, the subject was brought under the notice of the Assembly, which met the subsequent year at Aberdeen ; and it was there discussed with a degree of violence and personality, little suited to the dignity of that venerable court. Rutherford, who seems seldom to have ventured on extemporaneous speaking,

remained at first silent ; till, “ in the midst of this jangling,” says Baillie, who was present, “ he cast in a syllogism, and required them all to answer it. What Scripture does warrant, an Assembly may not discharge : but privy meetings for exercise of religion, Scripture warrants : James v. 16. *Confess your sins one to another, and pray one for another.* Mal. iii. 16. ‘ Then they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another,’ &c. *Ergo*, thir things could not be done in public meetings*.” This syllogistic position appears to have excited considerable discussion. “ A number greedily haunsht at the argument, Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr John Adamson, and others ; but came not near the matter, let be to answer formally. Mr Henry Guthrie of Stirling †, and Lord Seaforth, would not have Mr Samuel to trouble us with his logick syllogisms.” The truth, however, is, that the endeavours of Rutherford and his supporters, to bring the court to a mild decision,

* Ib. ib. p. 199. 100.

† It was this person who first brought this matter before the notice of the Assembly, and who pertinaciously insisted on that court delivering their opinion on it. At Stirling, of which he was minister, the obnoxious practice very generally prevailed, and evidently annoyed him exceedingly. (Ib. ib 200.)

proved completely unsuccessful: indeed they found it necessary to compromise their views, in order to arrive at an unanimous deliverance, and to prevent a schism in the church. And as, in the opinion of all, some abuses might result from these conventicles, as they were called, an act was unanimously passed, prohibiting all persons, not ministers or preachers, from expounding the Scriptures; and as the meetings complained of had been justified, on the ground that the individuals who attended them assembled for family prayer, and that to prevent the one, was to destroy the other, it was declared that private worship should be confined to the members of one family, except in the case of the family exercise of ministers, which it was allowed the people, as had long been the custom, to attend*.

The decision to which on this subject the church came, is not entitled to praise. The Presbyterians were on this occasion guilty of that for which they had so intolerantly reprobated the Episcopalians, namely, dictating to their countrymen in what manner

* Guthrie's *Memoirs*, pp. 78—82. Baillie's *Letters*, I. pp. 196—202—301.

religious worship should be performed, and interfering with that liberty of conscience, in matters of religion, which is the inalienable, and should be the undisturbed birth-right of every individual. Such a principle of conduct, (according to which the Presbyterians, in a great measure, afterwards acted, and which they strenuously advocated,) has a tendency to throw discredit on religion itself, to prostitute it, and convert it into an engine of despotism and persecution. Nor, though such a proceeding were under any circumstances justifiable, ought it to have been embraced in the case before us. It was, indeed, never less called for. The obnoxious individuals were persons of piety, anxious to promote the spiritual improvement of each other, and to adopt such methods and times of religious worship, as appeared to them most calculated to accomplish that end. The system had, with many of them, had its origin in persecution, and was thus endeared to them by association, as well as by principle; and though some English Independents had united with them, and though they daily made converts from the Scottish church,

yet the interesting cause from which it sprung, still continued to operate, and to sanctify and fan their devotions; and it ought, therefore, to have been viewed rather with delight than reprobation: which it would have been, had the Presbyterians of that age been actuated solely by the spirit of the Bible, and not pervaded by a blind attachment to human institutions.

Rutherford and his coadjutors, who viewed this question in a proper light, merit great praise for the liberal sentiments they displayed,—sentiments which it would have been the glory of our church to have adopted and exemplified; and it is deeply to be regretted, that ere long, the subject of these pages, and those who acted with him, abandoned those enlightened opinions by which on this occasion they were regulated, and were carried away by that torrent of bigotry and persecution, which so universally prevailed.

But even at this time Rutherford, though he felt so inclined regarding these conventicles or private meetings, was unfavourable to the sect of the Independents, which had recently started up, and become power-

ful in England. This sect condemned every thing like a hierarchy or national church, whether Presbyterian or Episcopal; and insisted that every congregation of Christians formed a church in itself, unconnected with, and not amenable to any other church or congregation. They did not recognize the distinct and exclusive order of clergy, or the indelible character, which in national establishments has been ascribed to them: they placed the choice and ordination of pastors in the congregation at large: they allowed the indiscriminate exercise of preaching and instruction; and they were not unfavourable to a free secession to any portion of their members, to form a new congregation.

With this sect, the persons who engaged in private meetings in Scotland had very little common, and had, it is probable, no intention of connecting themselves. Their object was rather, by friendly and private intercourse, to encourage and instruct each other, and to unite in devotional exercises, than to form a distinct denomination of believers, or to dignify their meetings with the appellation of a church, or even per-

manently to renounce Presbyterian principles. It was quite compatible, therefore, for Rutherford to reprobate the one, while he approved of the other; to encourage meetings held for the sacred purposes which his northern brethren had in view; while he regarded the sect of the Independents as founded on misconception and error. Accordingly, in 1642, after the question of conventicles had been discussed during three successive Assemblies, he published a treatise against Independency, as it existed in the sister kingdom. This is one of the most temperate, judicious, and best written works he ever gave to the world. It corresponds in every respect with the promise which its title holds out*; with this exception, that it is much more learned, dispassionate, and conclusive, than that promise implies. It evinces in the author an intimate acquaintance with the works of the early Christian Fathers, as

* The title of this work is, "A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul's Presbyterie in Scotland, or a modest and brotherly dispute of the government of the Church of Scotland, wherein our discipline is demonstrated to be the true Apostolick way of Divine truth, and the arguments, on the contrary, are friendly dissolved, the grounds of separation, and the independencie of particular congregations, in defence of Ecclesiastical Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies, are examined and tried. By Samuell Rutherford, Professor of Divinity at St Andrews." London, 1642, 4to. pp. 326,

also of all the subsequent writers on ecclesiastical polity; and deduced from these sources, it contains, as it professes, “A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul’s Presbyterie,” and the most complete refutation of Independency that had yet appeared. It must have had a very considerable effect on public sentiment, and have served to pave the way for that introduction of the Presbyterian system into England, which soon took place.

Though he thought himself called upon thus to oppose Independency, he yet seems to have entertained a great regard for the adherents of that polity. This is evident, as well from the liberal and respectful manner in which he conducted the discussion, as from an opinion to that effect, recorded in some of his Letters. “Of all that differ from us,” says he, in an epistle written about two years after the appearance of the work just spoken of, “the Brownists and Independents come nearest to walkers with God*.” He speaks of them as “gracious men;” and observes in reference to the Eng-

* *Letters*, Part III. § 52.

lish, that “ the best of people are the *Independent* way *.”

Notwithstanding the interest he took in these discussions, and the time he devoted to them, he was also employed in discharging faithfully his duties, both as a professor and a clergyman. And the university of St Andrew's, after having made great exertions to procure the benefit of his labours, had ere long to renew these exertions, in order not to lose what she had with such difficulty obtained. Mr Andrew Auchinleck, or Affleck, minister of Largo, having been nominated one of the ministers of St Andrew's, Rutherford and Blair gave their concurrence to the appointment. But Affleck's “ doctrine not being so spiritual and powerful as the case of St Andrew's required,” and the Presbytery having, by a majority of voices, expressed themselves against the measure, the subject of these memoirs, with his colleague, withdrew their consent, and adopted the decision of that court. This resolution was extremely obnoxious to the people, as they did much “ affect” the clergy-

* *Ib. ib.* § 53.

man in question : “ whereupon,” we are informed, they did “ storm, and refused to regard any of Mr Robert or Mr Samuel’s desires.” Finding their situations from this opposition to be unhappy, and their labours not sufficiently useful, they both applied to the Assembly of 1642, for an act of transportability, as it was termed, or the privilege of accepting a call to another charge, if any such should be given them. “ I helped Mr Samuel,” says Baillie, “ to obtain it ; but to my great repentance, if he make any use, as he is too much inclined, of that his liberty *.” But it was not long till what Baillie had so much dreaded occurred. Within a few weeks after this date, he received an invitation from West Calder, in the Presbytery of Linlithgow, to become minister of that parish. This call he seems willingly to have accepted, not more perhaps on account of the prejudices that the people of St Andrew’s entertained against him, than a desire to return to the pastoral charge of a country parish ; having left Anwoth, as will be recollected, with great reluctance, both

* Baillie’s *Letters*, I. 343.

because of his “inabilitie of body,” and “his gifts of mynd,” relatively to such an important situation as that of St Andrew’s. It is not improbable, therefore, that he availed himself of the existence of these prejudices, as an apology for withdrawing from a charge on which he had entered with such unwillingness. But whatever were his motives, he was not permitted to carry his wishes into effect. The College which had enjoyed the advantages of his services for the last three years, valued these advantages too high to allow herself to be deprived of them without a struggle. And accordingly, she appears to have adopted every step within her power to prevent his departure. What measures she had recourse to, cannot now be ascertained ; but it is stated in the Presbytery Records of Linlithgow, that “the university and college of St Andrew’s would not permit him to be transported, although he had accepted the presentation * ;” and though the supreme court had given its acquiescence. This resistance, it is likely,

* For the substance of *The Minutes of the Presbytery of Linlithgow*, as well as for some other notices connected with this subject, I have been indebted to my friend Mr Scott.

could not have been effectual, if Rutherford, availing himself of the decision of the Assembly, had insisted on his removal; and the probability therefore is, that he was not unwilling to sacrifice his own private views to what he regarded as the advantage of the church, or of the seminary with which he was connected.

Another important event in the life of Rutherford, had meanwhile taken place, to which we have not yet alluded. On the 24th of March 1640 *, five months after his settlement at St Andrew's, he entered a second time into the matrimonial state. The name of the lady to whom he had united himself, was Jean M'Math,—of whom nothing is known previously to her marriage † : but from what we afterwards hear of her, we

* *Registers of St Andrew's*, as communicated by Mr Scott.

† She seems to have been of respectable parentage and condition. A sister of hers, who had been married, and had at least one child, which predeceased her, (*Rutherford's Letters*, Part II. § 38.) was succeeded in some heritable property by her niece, Agnes Rutherford, the only surviving child of this marriage. (*Inq. Rector. Abbrev.—Inq. Generales*, 6335.) And on the death of her mother, she became heiress to some property that had belonged to her mother,—“*in annuo redditu 140 L. correspondente 3500 m. de terras vocatis Maynes de Covingtoune et terris de Hill-head.*” (*ib.* Lanark, 382.) M'Math was an old name in Scotland, of which M'Math of that ilk was the chief. There was at this time, a person of the name of M'Math, a merchant in Edinburgh, whose daughter was married to William Dick of Grange, (*Douglas's Baronage*, p. 271.) There was also M'Math of Newbyres; but whether Mrs Rutherford was connected with either of these families, there is no possibility of ascertaining.

are warranted in characterizing her as a person of great worth and piety, and as worthy of such a husband.

Rutherford, when he formed this second matrimonial connection, had been a widower for nearly ten years. When he removed to St Andrew's, he had not the satisfaction, so far as we know, of being accompanied by a single relation ; nor had he a domestic companion to sympathize with him, or cheer him. Those who had been the joy and hope of his life, he had laid in the dust ; and he had left behind him in Galloway, all others in whom he took the deepest interest, or for whom he felt the greatest affection. The step, therefore, which he now took, was one (not to speak of other motives,) which prudence dictated or necessity required ; and we have the strongest reason to believe, that it was to him the source of that solace and delight, which such a union is designed and calculated to afford.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of public affairs, that led to the convocation of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.—Scots commissioners sent thither,—of whom Rutherford was one.—An account of that Assembly.—Rutherford's share in its proceedings.—His publications while in London, particularly his *Lex Rex*.—His private and domestic circumstances.—His return to Scotland.

WE stated in the foregoing chapter, that after the treaty made between the covenanters and the king, an Assembly, as agreed upon, was held, which confirmed Presbytery as the national religion; and that parliament was convened immediately on the rising of the Assembly. We also mentioned, that his Majesty caused the latter court to be suddenly prorogued, in case it should have given its sanction to the proceedings of the Assembly. This unexpected prorogation, we now proceed to state,

gave great and merited offence. It disappointed the fondest hopes of the nation. It rendered the enactments of the ecclesiastical judicatory of no avail, as they could not obtain the authority of parliament. It was a direct violation of the treaty that had so recently been formed; and it dissipated the confidence, which a people should always be enabled to repose on the word and honour of their sovereign. Had not the covenanters been distinguished for loyalty, and anxious, consistently with their rights and privileges, not to take any steps that might render them obnoxious to his Majesty, they would not, as matters then stood, have acquiesced in the policy pursued by Charles. They would have regarded it as tantamount to a renewal of hostilities; and would not have followed that moderate course which they thought it their duty to adopt. It did, indeed, turn out to be equivalent to a declaration of hostilities; for when commissioners, on the part of the Scots, arrived at London, with the view of remonstrating with the king, and of vindicating the conduct of the parliament, war had really been determined upon in the Eng-

lish council. Nor were the covenanters entirely unprepared for such an alternative. Aware of the vacillating character of Charles, they had taken the precaution, at the time of the late treaty, to keep their officers in full pay, so that, should circumstances require, they might be able at once to avail themselves of their services. The most prompt measures were adopted. In these, the clergy took an active part; and they levied money and commodities to carry on the war, from their respective flocks, to a degree scarcely credible*. But from the want of supplies on both sides, actual hostilities did not commence till the month of August, [1640.] And in the meanwhile,

* In addition to the tenth of rents, and the twentieth penny of interest which was imposed as an assessment for the defence of the country, each parish contributed money to provide clothing for the soldiers which it had sent out. "We had sent from Stranraer," says Livingstone, "our fourth fencible man, viz. 15 men. The town was but little and poor; all the yearly rent was estimated to 2000 merks Scots." * * "I propounded to my flock the condition of the army, and desired they would prepare their contribution to be given after sermon; at which time we got L. 45 Sterling," or nearly a half of the whole income of the place. "The reason that we got so much was, that there were sundry families of Irish people dwelling in the town. One Margaret Jame, the wife of William Scott, a maltman, who had fled out of Ireland, and were but in a mean condition, gave seven twenty two shilling Sterling pieces, and an eleven pound piece. When the day after I enquired at her, how she came to give so much? she answered, "I was gathering, and had led up this to be a part of a portion to a young daughter I had, and as the Lord hath lately been pleased to take my daughter to himself, I thought I would give him the portion also." (*Life of Livingstone*, written by himself, p. 34.)

the Scotttish parliament had assembled, contrary to the wish of Charles, who meant to prorogue it, but an informality having been discovered in the commission issued for that purpose, it met, assumed all the rights and prerogatives belonging to that high court, and confirmed, as before stated, all the acts of the General Assembly relative to the church. It was under such circumstances also, that the Assembly which met at Aberdeen in this year, was held: no commissioner appeared on the part of the king; but the members proceeded to business on the principle, for which the church had always contended, that the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory was inherently independent of the will of the sovereign.

Of the hostilities that took place, we shall give no account. The Scottish army marched under the influence of the same religious feelings by which we saw them actuated in the former campaign. Every regiment was, as before, attended by a chaplain. "It was very refreshful to remark," says Livingstone, who was present, "that after we came to a quarter at night, there was nothing to be heard almost through the whole

army, but singing of psalms, prayer, and reading of Scripture, by the soldiers in their several huts *." Thus animated, and identifying their cause with that of religion and liberty, the covenanters, having come up to the English at Newburn, a passage of the Tyne, routed them: next day Newcastle surrendered to them; and soon after they became masters of the whole surrounding country. They did not, however, avail themselves of their success to protract the war, or to extend their conquests; their object was not hostile aggression, except in so far as it was necessary to procure for them the enjoyment of those rights which they regarded as dearer than life. They accordingly made overtures of peace; to which Charles, from the extremity to which he was reduced, both from the success of the Scots, and the distracted state of his English subjects, was obliged to listen. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to meet at Rippon. But circumstances having occurred to protract the negociation, the treaty was transferred to London, "by

* Ib. 33.

an error which the king was never afterwards able to retrieve *."

The removal of the Scottish commissioners to London, exercised a mighty influence over the events that succeeded relative to the Presbyterian faith. Their appearance in the metropolis excited unspeakable interest. They were the representatives of a people who had been persecuted, and who had vindicated their liberty. They were the members of a church which had manifested principles of civil liberty and religious freedom, superior to the age. They formed the deputation of an army, to which victory seemed to be desireable, only inasmuch as it enabled them to purchase peace. The interest, thus raised, was enhanced by the exemplary regularity with which they engaged in religious exercises, and by the sermons of Henderson, and other eminent ministers by whom they were accompanied. The king condescended to hold private conferences with them: a house was appropriated for their residence: a church was given them for their devotions; and the

* *Laing's Hist. of Scotland*, III. p. 198.

people flocked in crowds to listen to the discourses of their preachers, who strenuously urged their own tenets. To these tenets the inhabitants of the metropolis soon began to evince a decided leaning. During the abode of the commissioners in London, indeed, the cause of Presbytery made great progress there; and the credit of Episcopacy proportionally decreased. In short, ere the treaty was concluded, which was not till June of the following year, the foundation of the latter polity had been shaken: petitions to parliament poured in against it, and were cordially received; and the dignity and privileges of the prelates were so encroached upon, as to make it evident to all, that their order could not much longer be tolerated.

Thus embarrassed, the parliament having thrown off all regard for his authority, and the episcopal system tottering to the ground, Charles not only granted the commissioners all they demanded, but intimated his intention of visiting Scotland, in order, as he said, the more effectually to gain the confidence and attachment of his northern subjects, but probably also with a view of se-

curing their neutrality in the civil war which was evidently impending. This intention he immediately carried into execution; and while in Scotland, he ratified every act that had been passed by the General Assembly or parliament; and by this step, and other conciliatory measures, he put an end to all those discussions that had so long distracted that part of his dominions, and left the Scottish people most enthusiastically attached to his person and government.

But this happy state of things could not, under existing circumstances, be expected long to continue. An excitement had been imparted to popular feeling, which could not at once be allayed, and which had given an importance and a sacredness to these feelings, which otherwise they could not have obtained. The people regarded Presbytery as of divine authority, and every other system as erroneous and unscriptural; and when they had secured the triumph of their favourite polity at home, were anxious to extend it to the sister kingdom, and to see uniformity of church government recognized in both divisions of the island. The com-

missioners at London had expressed themselves to this effect, and had even endeavoured to see such an arrangement guaranteed by treaty. Nor were the times unfavourable to such a result. Episcopacy was fast declining in England. No small proportion of the English people, disgusted with the hierarchy, and who had not yet permanently embraced any other form of religion, turned their views to our General Assembly, both as a model, and for advice and instruction. Both the parliament of England, and the influential part of the clergymen, entertained these views. A letter to this effect was transmitted by some English ministers, to the Assembly which met at Edinburgh in 1641; and in the next meeting of that judicatory, similar communications were sent, both from the parliament, and from ministers respectively. These documents were received with great delight. Suitable answers were returned to them; and the Assembly appointed a commission of their number, embracing the names of the most distinguished of the clergy and laity, to overlook the affairs of the church, and to prosecute the ecclesias-

tical treaty which was contemplated with the English nation. Of this commission Rutherford was a member, as well as of the subsequent commissions, nominated annually so long as free Assemblies were permitted to convene. The parliament of England had, meanwhile, deprived the bishops of their rank and privileges as spiritual lords, and abolished episcopacy, though these acts had not obtained the royal sanction; and had dispatched a deputation to the General Assembly, and to the Convention of Estates*, requesting the fraternal aid of the Scots in carrying on the civil war in which they were engaged. A committee from each of these two bodies were appointed to negotiate with the English commissioners: of the committee of the General Assembly, the subject of these memoirs was a member. The Scots were anxious to avail themselves of every circumstance that had a tendency to promote the promulgation of their favourite ecclesiastical system; and on this occasion, they insisted on making, along

* The Convention of Estates was composed of all the members of parliament, and was operative only during the recess of that court. It was empowered to raise money and forces, but not to make laws.

with a civil league *, a religious covenant, as a step for the assimilation of the church in both divisions of the island: a measure that was acquiesced in, and which formed the first approach towards that intimate union of the two kingdoms which for a while at this time obtained. The Solemn League and Covenant was the result of this negociation: which was received in the Assembly and convention of estates, with every demonstration of exultation and delight; and when transmitted to London, was cordially confirmed and subscribed by both houses of parliament, and by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. And it was ordered to be subscribed by all ranks in both ends of the empire, (an order that was enthusiastically and almost universally complied with,) under the pain, in the case of those disobeying it, of being punished as

* On the first breaking out of the war between Charles and the English parliament, the Scots endeavoured as mediators to bring about a reconciliation and a peace. This was found to be impossible, and now, urged by the prospect (founded on the solemn league and covenant,) of uniformity of religion in both divisions of the island, they turned the scale by espousing the cause of the latter; and General Leslie, now Earl of Leven, marched into England in the beginning of 1644, to co-operate with the parliamentary forces. The Scots at this time held the destiny of the nation in their own hands; and by opposing the king, accelerated the crisis that brought him to the block.

enemies to pure religion, to his Majesty's honour, and to the peace of the two kingdoms.

This celebrated covenant, it may be mentioned, was founded on the most illiberal principles, as if those who subscribed it alone entertained Scriptural views, and were authorized to dictate religious sentiments to their countrymen. While it bound those who recognized it, to accomplish uniformity of church government and doctrine in both kingdoms, it also laid them under an obligation to discover and prosecute all who did not own its authority, or who, judging for themselves, ventured to entertain different views regarding the important topics which it involved. By this instrument, the Presbyterians, and those who acted along with them, turned against others the weapons which had been before directed against themselves, and which, at a succeeding period, was taken from their hands, and pointed at their own breasts ; and they exhibited a degree of bigotry and want of forbearance, which even in that age cannot be excused, and which has left an indelible stain on the religious history of the times. "Oppression," we

have been told, “maketh a wise man mad :” but those by whom the covenant was formed, were not at this time oppressed. They were the triumphant party, and had nothing to dread. Their behaviour, however they might view it, was nothing less than spiritual tyranny ; and they were actuated, we fear, by motives not higher than those which we felt ourselves compelled to attribute to the Episcopalians, their recent persecutors. These remarks, we regret to think, are as applicable to Rutherford as to any of his contemporaries ; and it is any thing but a pleasing duty to record, that the promises of toleration and liberality, which his conduct on a former occasion held out, were so soon and so completely blighted.

We have recently referred to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. And the foregoing details, in some respects extraneous, have been given, in order to introduce with propriety this celebrated Synod to the notice of our readers, so that the state of matters may be fully understood, that led to its convocation. This detail, besides, was not altogether uncalled for, on account of the connexion which Ru-

therford had with the proceedings it embraces ; for he was a member, not merely of the commission of the General Assembly, and of the successive Assemblies of which we have been treating, but of the committee of that court, which assisted in forming that covenant between the two nations, which we have just characterized. In every case, indeed, of interest and difficulty, to which we have been referring, we find him continually at his post, associated with his distinguished contemporaries, and supporting with undeviating faithfulness the strictest side of Presbyterian polity. And accordingly this narrative, we trust, will be regarded, not merely as introductory to an account of the Assembly of Divines, but as throwing light on the history of the subject of the memoirs *.

This Assembly had been contemplated in 1642, by the two houses of parliament, provided the sanction of the king could be obtained. But in the subsequent year, they

* Consult, in reference to the preceding narrative, Baillie's *Letters*, Vol. I. ; Guthrie's *Memoirs* ; Livingstone's *Life* ; *Printed Acts of the General Assembly* ; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* ; Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, and his *History of his own times*.

summoned it, not only without his authority, but against his express commands. This measure originated in the circumstance, that the form of church polity then existing was offensive and unsound; and that its supporters, both lay and clerical, were corrupt and inimical to popular rights and to religious reformation. And the object which the Assembly, under the superintendence and direction of the two houses of parliament, was meant to gain, was the establishment of such a system, both as to doctrine and government, as that the church in both divisions of the empire might be the same, or that a free communion in sacred things might obtain between them. The English parliament did not probably expect or wish Presbytery, as it existed in Scotland, to be extended to the sister kingdom, but only such a modification of it, or assimilation to it, as to secure the desirable object in question.

With these views, this venerable Synod began its sitting on the 1st of July 1643. According to the original appointment, it was to consist of thirty lay assessors, of

whom ten were to be peers, and a hundred and twenty divines, all to be chosen by parliament. But owing to a royal mandate declaring the meeting illegal, not more than about sixty-nine attended*, consisting chiefly of Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians†, the episcopal clergy having declined to attend. The English deputation sent to Scotland, as already stated, were entrusted with an application to the General Assembly, soliciting “such a number of godly and learned divines,” as commissioners to the Synod at Westminster, as might be thought expedient‡. This application was received with the liveliest satisfaction: an answer was returned, expressive of an ardent desire for uniformity of religion, and a deep-rooted aversion of prelacy; and five clergymen and three elders were nominated as commissioners. This appointment was evi-

* Lightfoot's *Journal of the Assembly of Divines*, in Vol. XIII. of Pitman's edit. of Dr Lightfoot's *whole works*, Lond. 1825.

† So called from Erastus, a German Physician and Divine. They asserted the supreme authority of the civil magistrate. They thus taught the dependence of the ecclesiastical state on civil authority, though with this limitation they acquiesced in Presbytery as agreeable to Scripture. And they maintained, that the clerical power was confined to that persuasive influence which an ancient philosopher might have gained over the minds of his disciples and followers.

‡ *Printed Acts of the General Assembly of 1643.*

dently one of the last importance ; in which the character of the Scottish church was concerned, and in which it was an honour to be included. Rutherford was one of the persons thus distinguished ; and his colleagues were Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, George Gillespie, and Robert Douglas, as ministers,—and as elders, the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Maitland, (afterwards Earl and Duke of Lauderdale *,) and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston. Henderson, who had long been regarded as the leader of the church, Lord Maitland, and Gillespie, as a quorum, removed to London immediately on their appointment, and entered on the discharge of their arduous duties ; while the rest were meanwhile allowed to continue in Scotland. But the question as to church government, having early been brought under the consideration of the Assembly, the commissioners who had gone to Westminster, lost no time in urging “ earnestly once and again,” the at-

* “ A man of excellent parts, had they been blessed and improved ; but as then his reputation was entire,” (Kirkton’s *History*, p. 42.) Lauderdale became afterwards a man of profligate manners, and in a subsequent reign, the base and heartless persecutor of all attached to the cause, of which he was at this time the steady and zealous advocate.

tendance of Rutherford and Baillie, both of whom accordingly obeyed the summons, and took their seat on the 20th of the ensuing month of November*.

When the commissioners arrived in London, they were invited to take their place in the Assembly as constituent members of it; but this they declined, on the ground, that they could appear there only as commissioners, and could be treated with in no other capacity. The propriety of this was evident, particularly as the English deputation had assumed a similar character when in Scotland; and accordingly they held communication with the Assembly, through a committee appointed for the purpose. "Once a week," says Baillie, "and whiles oftner, there is a committee of some Lords, Commons, and Divines, which meet with us anent our commission†." They were willing, however, to sit as private men in the Synod, and to take a part in the discussions; an arrangement that was cordially agreed upon.

The nature and result of the discussions,

* *Lightfoot's Journal*, *ut supra*, p. 56. † *Baillie's Letters*, I. 400.

which occupied the time of this Assembly, are well known. To its deliberations we are indebted for a Directory of public worship, a form of Ordination, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the Confession of Faith : all of which, having received the sanction of the English parliament, were adopted by the General Assembly of our church, and confirmed by the Scottish parliament as agreeable to the word of God. The debates relative to these measures were lengthened, and occasionally violent ; but the contest regarding church government was the most animated and keen. The Presbyterians insisted that the polity which they advocated was of divine right, and that no toleration should be extended to those who did not embrace it. The Independents urged the superior claims to divine authority which their system possessed, but pleaded for unreserved toleration, if Presbyterian discipline should be established. And the Erastians, while they did not deny the scriptural authority of Presbytery, maintained the supremacy of the civil magistrate, and wished to see the clerical power limited to that persuasive in-

fluence which a teacher of divine truth might be supposed to acquire over the minds of his flock. Amid these jarring opinions, the Presbyterian polity was at length carried both in the Assembly and in parliament: but its judicatories were denied those judicial and civil privileges claimed for them by the Scots commissioners, and which at that time obtained, and still obtain, in this part of the island. Parliament, instead of a General Assembly, was ordained to be the supreme court of appeal. Liberty of conscience was procured, chiefly by the exertion of the Independents and Erastians: a measure that exasperated the Scots, who strenuously resisted it, insisting on its incompatibility with the divine authority of Presbytery, and with the obligations entered into by the two nations in the solemn league and covenant, to maintain uniformity, and to exterminate schism. Nor was it acceptable to the great body of the people of England. They regarded it as circumscribed, both as to the power of individual pastors, and to the privileges of its several ascending judicatories, characterizing it as a lame and Erastian system unworthy of support;

and though it was established by law as the national church, it was never carried into effect, except in London and Lancashire*.

In the various discussions, both as to doctrine and church government, that engaged the attention of this venerable Synod, the Scots commissioners took an ample share. The most able speaker among them was Gillespie, whose eminent qualifications in this line, Dr Baillie frequently and emphatically commemorates†. But the appearances of the rest, particularly Rutherford, Henderson, and Warriston, were highly respectable. The critical and biblical attainments of Rutherford were often advantageously displayed, and earned for him no mean share of praise. "Mr Samuel," says Baillie, "for the great parts God has given him, and special acquaintance with the subject in question, is very necessary to be here." Speaking of the "many and learned debates," that occurred on the subject of church-government, the same writer re-

* Baillie's *Letters*, II. 259.

† "Very learned and acute Mr Gillespie, a singular ornament of our church, than whom not one in the whole Assembly speaks to better purpose, and with better acceptance to all the hearers," (Baillie's *Letters*, I. 419.) Vide also, *ib.* I. 431, 451—2.

marks, "as for Mr Henderson, and Mr Rutherford, all the world knows their graces." On the subject of ruling elders, "Mr Henderson, Mr Rutherford, and Mr Gillespie, all three spoke exceeding well, with arguments unanswerable." And Baillie elsewhere states, that "had not God sent Mr Henderson, Mr Rutherford, and Mr Gillespie among them, I see not that ever they could agree on any settled government*." Rutherford's name also prominently occurs in Dr Lightfoot's "Journal of the Assembly of Divines." Indeed, to Lightfoot himself, one of the greatest biblical scholars of his day, he was more than once opposed; and though that learned person's Journal comprehends only the proceedings of the Synod till December 1644, a period of eighteen months, and though the notices he gives are necessarily brief, we can without difficulty ascertain and appreciate the part that Rutherford acted; and we have no hesitation in assigning to him a very high place, and in regarding him as one of the

* Ib. Vol. I. 451. 407. 401. Vol. II. 11. 31.

most able divines connected with that Assembly *.

The commissioners, during their residence in London, maintained a regular official correspondence with the General Assembly, or with its commission. Several communications of this kind may be found in the printed acts of the former body, or in the published records of the church. They are of considerable importance, as throwing light on the proceedings of which we have been giving an account. But in addition to these communications, one or more of the commissioners seem to have returned to Scotland annually, chiefly with the view of attending parliament or the supreme judicatory of the church, and of giving an account of the state of matters in the Westminster Assembly †. We find all his brethren to have come north at different times for this purpose, but not Rutherford himself; who appears, indeed, never to have visited Scotland, from the time he first left it, till his commission ter-

* Lightfoot's *Journal*, *passim*. Lightfoot's *whole works*, by Pitman, Vol. I. pp. 102. 152—4. 163.

† *Printed Acts of Assembly*; *MS. Minutes of the Commission of the Assembly*; Baillie's *Letters and Journal*, containing an account of the Westminster Assembly; Guthrie's *Memoirs*.

minated in 1647. This long absence from his native country, or rather from the duties of his office, was the source of great uneasiness to him. This is evident, from a private letter written by him and two of his colleagues, in October 1646, to the commission of the General Assembly; which document, as it has not hitherto been printed, will, I hope, not be unacceptable to the reader.

“ Reverend and beloved brethren,

“ We have thought it good, (besides the particulars in the public letter,) to represent unto you for our part, who have been so long absent from our flocks, that, though in our endeavours for reformation and uniformity, we have studied all the expeditious and accelerating means which we could, and not without success through God’s blessing; yet it is verie grievous to us to be so long time detained heir, and we do hartily desire a faire doore to be opened for our returne. It is true much of the work yet remaines to be done, the perfecting of the confession of faith, and adding Scriptures unto it; the debateing the rest of the catechisme; the answering of the house of

commons, their queries concerning church government; the pursuance of the treaty with the houses, for their agreeing to the confession and catechisme, when the Assemblie shall transmit them; and the rest of the government which the Assemblie heir sent up long ago, which the houses have not yet taken into consideration: but we verilie judge that these things will take a long time; and we are so weary with our exceeding long absence from our particular charges, that we humblie entreat from you a permission to returne so soon as you may think fitt. Expecting your answere and directions herein, we commend your meeting to the blessing of God, and rest your loving brethren *."

But long before this date, we find Rutherford express a warm wish to be allowed to return to Scotland, and he made various applications to accomplish this object †. But it was not thought expedient on many accounts, that his wishes should be com-

* This letter is dated, "Worcester House, the 27th of October 1646," and bears the signatures of Rutherford, Baillie, and Gillespie. (*MS. Minutes of the Commission of the General Assembly, apud an. 1646.*)

† Baillie's Letters, *ut supra*.

plied with. “Mr Samuel,” says Baillie, “for the great parts God has given him, and special acquaintance with the question in hand, is very necessary*.” There was also another reason for his uninterrupted residence in London, namely, the superintendence of the various publications in which he was engaged against the Independents and others, and in defence of Presbytery as it obtained in Scotland †. The truth is, he did not merely exert himself in the Assembly to accomplish the establishment in question, and to oppose prevailing maxims of a contrary tendency; but he availed himself of the press to gain the same ends. In 1644, within a year after he had gone to London, “The Due Right of Presbyterie, or a Peaceable Plea for the government of the Church of Scotland,” appeared ‡: a work meant both to support the polity to which he belonged, and to serve as a refutation of the principles of the Independents. From the state of religious parties at this time, such a treatise, distinguished as it was by

* Ib. I. 451.

† Ib. ib. 451—2.

‡ Dedicated, as before mentioned, to the Marquis of Argyle, brother to Lady Kenmure.

great, though probably unnecessary, erudition, could not but excite considerable interest, and call forth something in the shape of a reply. Mr Herle, a Presbyterian clergyman of Lancashire, and a member of the Synod of Divines, had published a volume against Independency; and an answer to it had been written by Mr Mather, an Independent minister in New England. In "The Due Right of Presbyterie," Rutherford had adopted some of the positions of the former clergyman, and attempted a refutation of the arguments of the latter. Mr Mather, therefore, thought himself called on to maintain his opinions against this new attack; and accordingly, in 1647, he gave to the world, "A Reply to Mr Rutherford, or a defence of the answers to Mr Herle's book, against the Independency of churches *." This is a most respectable publication, superior to any work composed by Rutherford, in regard to perspicuity, simplicity of style and discussion, and close

* The continuation of the title is, "Wherein such objections and answers as are returned to sundry passages in the said answer by Mr Samuel Rutherford, a godly and learned brother of the Church of Scotland, in his book entitled, 'The Due Right of Presbyterie,' are examined and removed, and the answer justified and cleared."

adherence to the points at issue; but is devoid of all those marks of reading and learning for which the writings of the latter are so remarkable. Rutherford did not come forward with a professed answer; but in subsequent publications, particularly in that written against Mr Hooker of New England, he renewed his refutation of Independency, and enforced the principles of his own favourite polity.

Independency, however, was not the only system that he exerted himself to expose and refute. The tenets of the Erastians appeared to him equally unscriptural and erroneous. These tenets were strongly urged by various learned Divines in the Westminster Assembly, and were ably advocated in parliament; and he thought it necessary to oppose them, not merely in oral debate, but in a written treatise, which was published in 1646*. The object of this work was to establish, that while the word of God contains a basis and form of ecclesiastical discipline, the government of

* "The Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication; or a Peaceable Dispute for the perfection of the Holy Scriptures in point of government, and church government," &c. Lond. 1646. 4to.

the church, as to secular as well as sacred things, lies with the clergy either individually or as a body, and not with the civil magistrate. This treatise, which is very elaborate, but heavy and uninviting, received no answer; nor would it have been easy to reply efficiently to a book, however objectionable in point of composition, that displayed so much learning, and inculcated such sound principles.

But it was not polemical divinity alone, in which Rutherford engaged. He was also the author of two works of great merit on practical theology, published by him in London; "The Tryal and Triumph of Faith," and "Christ's dying, and drawing sinners to himself." These books consist of a series of consecutive sermons on the relative subjects of which they treat; and the substance of them, if not the identical discourses themselves, had been originally delivered from the pulpit*. They have been often reprinted, and even at this day maintain a considerable share of popularity. He also publish-

* Of the former work, published in 1645, the text was Matthew xv. 21—28, both inclusive. Of the latter, which appeared in 1647, the subject was John xii. 27—33, both inclusive.

ed two sermons, delivered on fast day occasions before the two houses of parliament respectively ; for which he received the thanks of these bodies, and the discourses were given to the world at their request *. Rutherford's talents as a preacher, must be ascertained from these specimens, not from the sermons printed after his death in his name, and of which, it is probable, he never composed a single sentence †. For, though sermons on the texts assumed had really been delivered by him, and had been attempted to be embodied in writing by some admiring hearer, either at the time they were heard, or afterwards from memory ; yet the ordeal is such, that the compositions of no man could pass through it without unspeakable injury. And discourses thus preserved,

* The sermon preached before the House of Commons, (31st January 1644,) extends to 64 quarto pages exclusive of the title, and address "to the Christian reader;" the text is Dan. vi. 26. The sermon before the Lords, (25th June 1645,) is also in 4to, and extends to 66 pages; the texts are Luke viii. 22—5. Mark iv. 38—40. Matt. viii. 26. Both were published in London, immediately on being preached.

† This remark is applicable to all the sermons that bear his name, with the exception of those mentioned in the text. I have seen no fewer than eight or ten such sermons, which might be assigned as well to any other man as Rutherford. A small volume of these spurious discourses, said to have been delivered on various sacramental occasions in Galloway, was published in Glasgow in 1802. (Reid's *Memoirs of the ancient Divines*, II. 360—2.

(particularly in the times to which we refer,) could retain few if any of the characteristics of their author, but would be so completely changed, both in substance and language, as to be marked by the taste and talents, not of the original composer, but of the reporter. Such is the case with many sermons that bear Rutherford's name. They are vulgar, coarse, inane; while those he delivered before parliament, or which himself published, are learned, logical, abounding in happy illustrations and descriptions, accurate in point of diction, and not deficient in point of taste, as taste was then understood: and though the leading object is sometimes obscured by unnecessary sub-divisions and by conceits,—both of which were descriptive of the age,—yet they are superior to most of the pulpit discourses of that period, and contain, within a given space, more substantial matter than almost any sermons we could refer to. The following specimen will serve, in some degree, to corroborate the estimate we have expressed.

“ God worketh irresistibly, and with efficacy. For when he saith, we must be

saved ; when God saith that which Isaac said, *I have blessed him*, the other must follow, *and he shall be blessed*. Some creatures work necessarily without any dominion over their actions : the sun must cast out heat ; the fire cannot but burn ; the sea cannot but flow ; but because God has truly an absolute prerogative royal, he has a negative voice in all the actions of the world, and what is to the creature necessary, and *must be*, to the Lord it is free, though not contingent,—and it hath a *may be* to God, but not a *must be*, unless he wish. To the creature, the sea must ebb and flow ; the sun must give light ; the fire must consume ; the lion must devour his prey. But in all these to God, there is a *must not be*, except he add his affirmative voice ; and, therefore, God commandeth the sea neither to ebb nor flow, but to stand up as two stiff walls of glass. He covereth the sun with a web of darkness, at the crucifying of the Lord of glory. He dischargeth the fire to burn *the three children*, and the lion to eat Daniel ; and all these things must be, because God has said, they shall be. Again, as God putteth his *may not be* upon things neces-

sary to the creature, so he putteth a law of necessity upon all the contingent actions of the creature. An arrow shot at a venture may kill Achab, and may not kill Achab, but some other man near by, yet there is here to the Lord no contingency,—no such thing as *may be*, and *may not be*. But the arrow of the Lord's vengeance must be so timed, so placed, as it has no motion against any but Achab alone, and against no part of him, but between the joints of his harness, that he may die according to the word of the Lord *."

In these sermons, he alludes to the situation of public affairs; a practice, as before mentioned, not uncommon at that period, and afterwards enforced by a law of the General Assembly; and probably neither uncalled for nor unprofitable, in the circumstances in which he stood when these discourses were delivered. "Others say rebellion against the king is the cause" of the calamities under which the nation labours, "but rather," subjoins Rutherford, "the not timeous rising to help the Lord,

* *Sermon preached before the House of Lords, p. 60.*

and his oppressed people, is the cause. The defection of both kingdoms to altar worship, imagery, idolatry, Popish and Arminian doctrine, the articles of Perth Assembly, followed and practised in our own kingdom without repentance, the ignorance of God, people perishing for want of knowledge, both under prelacy, and now the not building of the house of God in this land, the backsliding of many after the covenant of God is sworn, are the true causes *."

Nor was it on theological and ecclesiastical subjects alone, that Rutherford wrote, while in London. He was provoked by an imprudent work, written by one of the excommunicated Scots prelates, to engage in a discussion not quite consentaneous either to his profession or private studies. John Maxwell, late bishop of Ross, and the friend of Archbishop Laud, had long been distinguished for high monarchical principles, and had been exempted from the bill of indemnity, passed when peace was concluded in 1641. The progress of more liberal views

* Ib. p. 48.

seems only to have imparted greater force, in his mind, to the opinions he had embraced ; and in 1644, he published a treatise in illustration and defence of his principles : a treatise of the most insidious and dangerous tendency, inculcating sentiments respecting the royal prerogative that would have been reckoned extravagant and unsound, even in the darkest times *. The object of this production is to demonstrate, that the state and privileges of royalty are not derived from the people, are independent of them, are inherent and incommunicable, and proceed directly from the Supreme Being ; and that passive obedience is the sacred duty of every subject. “ Our Assemblies and parliaments,” says Baillie, “ he lays absolutely under the feet of a king’s mere pleasure, were he the greatest tyrant that ever was †.” But the author not only endeavours to show, that monarchy is of divine appointment, and is the accredited form of civil government, but labours also

* This work is denominated “ *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas* ; or the sacred and royal prerogative of Christian kings. Wherein Sovereignty is by Holy Scripture, Reverend Antiquitie, and sound reason asserted.” Oxf. 1644. 194 quarto pages.

† Baillie’s *Letters*, II. 39.

to prove the incompatibility of Presbytery with that polity, in consequence, as he alleges, of its usurping and inquisitorial character. And he re-echoes, in reference to this part of the subject, a vulgar expression originally used by James VI. that “monarchy, and Scottish presbytery, agree as well as God and the devil.”

Such a work, published under any circumstances, we can scarcely conceive to pass unrefuted: and at this time, when liberal sentiments had begun to be generally cherished, the principles enforced by Maxwell, could not but be unspeakably obnoxious. A reply was therefore indispensibly necessary, and Rutherford undertook the task; “though it is reported, that when Charles saw it, he said it would scarcely ever have an answer*,” and within the year in which the offensive production appeared, he gave to the world “*Lex, Rex*; the Law and the Prince; a discourse for the just prerogative of king and people †;” a treatise that seems to have

* Livingstone's *Memorable Characteristics*, art. Rutherford.

† The remainder of the title is, “containing the reasons and causes of the most necessary defensive wars of the kingdom of Scotland, and of their expedition for the ayd and help of their dear brethren of England. In which their innocency is asserted, and a full

excited very deep and general interest. Every member of the General Assembly, that met soon after the publication of this work, "had in his hand," says Bishop Guthrie, "that book lately published by Mr Samuel Rutherford, which was so idolized, that whereas Buchanan's treatise *de jure regni apud Scotos* was looked upon as an oracle, this coming forth, it was slighted as not anti-monarchial enough, and Rutherford's *Lex Rex* only thought authentic *."

The nature of this work has been considerably misunderstood or misrepresented. On account of the democratical tendency of the views it was supposed to inculcate, it was afterwards, to the author himself, the cause of imminent danger; and it has been denounced by some modern writers, as enforcing opinions of a seditious character, and hostile to the existence of monarchy †.

answer is given to a seditious pamphlet entitled, *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas*, under the name of J. A. but penned by Jo. Maxwell, the excommunicate P. Prelat, with a scripturall confutation of the ruinous grounds of W. Barclay, H. Grotius, H. Arnisæus, Ant. de Domi, P. Bishop of Spalato, and of other late Anti-magistratical Royalists; as the author of *Ossorianum*, D. Fern, E. Symmons, the Doctors of Aberdeen, &c. in XLIV. questions," published by Authority. 1 Sam. xii. 25. Lond. 1644, 4to. pp. 467.

* Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 177.

† I refer in particular to Dr Cook, whose remarks on this subject I regard as unfair and inapplicable, (*Hist. of the Church*, III.

We regard these objections as either utterly groundless, or very much exaggerated. The author, undoubtedly, applies very coarse and exceptionable epithets to the prelate against whom he wrote, and to the absurd doctrines, both ecclesiastical and civil, which his book was designed to teach. This charge I am neither anxious nor able to deny. But his treatise has not, so far as I understand it, a seditious or anti-monarchical tendency. On the contrary, the express object of it is, to prove that monarchy is the most beneficial, if not the most scriptural form of government, and that obedience and loyalty, when the polity in question is properly exercised, is the bounden duty of subjects. And this principle he qualifies merely by showing, what I confess is a delicate doctrine, that in cases of gross oppression and unlimited prerogative, parliament has an authority supe-

101.) This learned writer seems to have borrowed his opinion from Bishop Guthrie, (*Memoirs*, 177.) whose authority is the reverse of unprejudiced.

Of Guthrie, as minister of Stirling, we formerly spoke, (p. 181.) when treating of private meetings or conventicles. Though in 1638, he subscribed the covenant, and recognized presbytery, he had originally, on entering to Stirling, received episcopal ordination, and at the Restoration he reverted to his original faith, and was subsequently elevated to the See of Dunkeld. He was the author of the *Memoirs* to which we have so often referred. (*Life* by Crawford, prefixed to 2d edit. of *Memoirs*.)

rior to the king ; and that in extreme circumstances, the people may reasonably and constitutionally resume that power which, as it were, they had reposed in the hands of their sovereign. On this principle, the Scots Presbyterians, and the parliament of England, were then acting ; and Rutherford, in maintaining it, was only supporting that which the great body of the nation had embraced. The soundness of it, indeed, in an abstract point of view, has long been allowed by all enlightened and unprejudiced men, and on more than one occasion, it has been carried into practice since the days of Rutherford ; and the only difficulty is to ascertain, at what point the necessity is so urgent, as to require and sanction its application. When we reflect, therefore, that the object of Rutherford's book is strictly constitutional, and when we learn that his opponent had not used, in regard to the sentiments entertained by him, and the party and church to which he belonged, the most decent and guarded terms, we will be slow in condemning him, though in the heat of debate he may probably have pushed his arguments to an objectionable extreme, and used

language not compatible with the politeness of modern days.

Both works, it may be remarked, are very elaborate, and display an intimate acquaintance with the compositions, both of the early Christian Fathers, and of the subsequent writers, whose publications had any connexion with the questions in dispute. Maxwell, in truth, was a scholar of no ordinary pretensions. He had previously come before the world, as the able opponent of the Presbyterian faith ; and in consequence of the learning, and of the illiberal virulence with which he wrote, as well of the extravagant character of his principles, he had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the supporters of that system*.

* Maxwell had published in 1641, *Episcopacy not abjured in his Majesty's realm of Scotland* ; and two years after the appearance of the work against which Rutherford wrote, *The Burden of Is-sacher ; or the tyrannical power and practise of the Presbyterian government in Scotland*. Both these productions received an answer from the pen of Dr Baillie, one of Rutherford's colleagues, in two works entitled, *A Defence of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, against Mr Maxwell, bishop of Ross*,—and *Historical vindication of the government of the church of Scotland, against Maxwell and Adamson*. Baillie was the author of various other writings in favour of Presbyterian principles, and in opposition to Episcopacy. The reader is already acquainted with his *Letters and Journal*, published in 1775, in 2 octavo volumes ; but his greatest work is a posthumous volume entitled, *Opus Theologicum et Chronologicum*, fol. 1663. Baillie, it is well known, was principal of the university of Glasgow. He died in 1662. Dr Irving characterizes him as “ perhaps the most learned ecclesiastic of

“Bishop Maxwell,” says Dr Irving, was “a turbulent though ingenious prelate, whose restless ambition had a principal share in promoting the dissensions which prevailed during that unhappy era*.” He could not, therefore, expect to receive, nor did he obtain, any courtesy or tokens of deference on the part of Rutherford, or of those whom, or whose views, he had so violently attacked.

Such was the public history of Rutherford while he remained in London. Of his private life during that time, little can be known. He was attended by Robert M'Ward, the editor of his Letters, and a man of talents and of congenial views, as

the Presbyterian denomination.” (*Lives of the Scottish Poets*, I. 119.)

Maxwell, it may be stated, was a native of Dumfries-shire, was minister of Murthlack and of Edinburgh successively, and in 1633 was consecrated bishop of Ross, when Charles I. was in Scotland. At the same date, his majesty appointed him one of the extraordinary Lords of Session. After his excommunication, being a great favourite with Charles, he was successively nominated to the Sees of Killala and Tuam in Ireland. He died in 1646. (*Keith's Cat. of Scottish Bishops*; Russel's edit. 202. *Hailes' Cat. of Lords of Session*, 9.)

Maxwell had rendered himself so offensive to the Presbyterians, that we are almost inclined to blush in quoting the words which Baillie, one of the most moderate of his party, applies to him. “Mr Maxwell of Ross,” says he, “has printed at Oxford so desperately malicious an invective against our Assemblies and Presbyteries, that, however I could hardly consent to the hanging of Canterbury himself, [Laud,] or of any Jesuit, yet I could give my sentence freely against that unhappy liar's life.” (*Letters*, II. 39.)

* Irving's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, I. 120.

his private secretary and amanuensis*. He lived on the most friendly and affectionate footing with his colleagues. Baillie characterizes him as his "sweet colleague †." "Thanks be to God," says this writer, "never colleagues had a greater harmony; for to this hour not the least difference, the smallest eyelid betwixt any of us, in any thing, either public or private, makes our fellowship much the sweeter ‡." Whether his wife resided with him during the whole of his absence, we know not; but she was there a part of it. She appears, indeed, either to have accompanied him when he first removed thither, or to have followed him soon after, as we find her there in little more than four months after his arrival. She is then mentioned by him in one of his letters, as being "under the physician ||;" and to the grief which this circumstance must have occasioned, his own health had begun to exhibit unfavourable

* Lamont's *Chronicle of Fife*, p. 19. This writer denominates M'Ward, as servant to Rutherford; but the situation is known to have been that of Amanuensis. Sir John Chiesly held a similar birth under Mr Henderson, when one of the commissioners at London.

† Baillie's *Letters*, I. 450.

‡ *Ib.* *ib.*

|| *Letters*, Part III. § 52.

symptoms. He solicited to remain at Anwoth, in consequence of his “infirmities of bodie;” and it is probable, that after he left it, from the great labour he underwent, both as a professor, a clergyman, and as travelling on the business of the church*, and now from his multifarious engagements and studies in London, the vigour of his constitution had in the meanwhile become much impaired. Baillie speaks of the “variable state of his health;” and it is stated, that on account of indisposition, he visited Epsom, in company with his colleague, Mr Gillespie, for the benefit of the waters of that place†.

But the declining state of his own health, or the indisposition of his wife, was not his only source of distress. He was also doomed to undergo deep family bereavement. Ere he left Scotland, he had lost two children; and during the first two years of his absence, he was deprived of two more, being at that time the whole of his family. To these dispensations he seems to have submitted with the same exemplary Chris-

* *Ib.* Part III. § 32. † *Baillie's Letters*, II. 139.

tian resignation, that we have seen him display on former melancholy occasions. "I was in your condition," says he, in a letter to a Lady whom he was addressing on the death of a promising son, "I was in your condition; I had but two children, and both are dead since I came hither. The supreme and absolute Father of all things, giveth not an account of any of his matters: the good husbandman may pluck his roses, and gather in his lillies at mid-summer, and for ought I dare say, in the beginning of the first summer month; and he may transplant young trees out of the lower ground to the higher, where they may have more of the sun, and a more free air, at any season of the year: What is that to you, or to me? the goods are his own. The Creator of time and winds did a merciful injury, (if I dare borrow the word,) to nature, in landing the passenger so easily. * * I persuade myself, if we could prize Christ, nothing would be bitter to us *."

Such were the circumstances of Rutherford, both of a public and private kind, so

* *Letters*, Part II. § 14.

far as we know them, while he attended the Westminster Assembly, as one of the commissioners of our church. Though he had made many applications for permission to divest himself of this character, and to resume his professional duties, his wish was not complied with, till the great points of uniformity had been agreed upon; namely, a Directory for public worship, a Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and a Form of Church government; measures of the most enlightened description, and lasting monuments of the learning, liberality, and piety of the venerable Synod by which they were framed. This permission was granted by the Assembly of 1647 †, five years after the commission had been nominated. Previously to their leaving London, the thanks of the Assembly were given to the Scots commissioners, for their assiduous attention and valuable assistance. And similar sentiments were expressed in a letter from the Synod to the commission of the General Assembly; of which Rutherford, as being the last to leave London, was the

* *Unprinted Acts of Assembly.*

bearer. This document I quote, as it has not hitherto been printed, and as it is corroborative of the opinions I have expressed regarding Rutherford and his colleagues in their official capacity.

“ Right Honourable, Right Reverend, and dearly beloved brethren in Jesus Christ,—As we have great cause to blisse God, for the brotherly union of these two nations in common cause of religion ; so we cannot but returne humble praises to him, and onr hart-felt thanks to you, for the great assistance which in this worke we have from those honourable, reverend, learned, and godly commissioners, which you were pleased to send us for our help. By whom, through the good hand of God upon us, we have finished and presented to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, the Confession of Faith, Directory for Worship, Forme of Church Government, and Catechismes ; wherein, though when we have done all, we cannot but acknowledge ourselves unprofitable servants, yet through his mercy, we have obtained grace to be thankful in holding forth the truth of God, and in bearing witnesse against

the common errors and corruptions of the tymes.

“ And now this reverend and learned professor of divinity, Mr Samuel Rutherford, signifying to us, that he is presently to returne to his particular station and employment among you, we cannot but restore him with ample testimony of his learning, godliness, faithfulness, and diligence ; and we humbly pray the father of spirits to encrease the number of such burning and shining lights among you, and to returne all the labour of love which you have shewen to this afflicted church and kingdom, a thousand-fold into your bosomes *.”

The Scots commissioners having thus so far gained (as previously stated,) the object of their appointment, and having returned to Scotland, the intimate connexion which had for so long a time subsisted between the Scottish church and the Synod of Divines ceased. But an epistolary communication still continued to obtain between them ; and the same commissioners,

* *MS. Minutes of the Commission of the General Assembly, of date 26th Nov. 1647.* The commission also “ gave him hartie thanks for his paines and travells,” while in London. (*Ib. ib.*)

with the exception of Alexander Henderson, who had died in 1646 *, and the addition of Lord Balmerino, were appointed by the General Assembly to prosecute the treaty of uniformity in religion, which was not yet regarded as fully completed. The commissioners, however, did not again visit London. Nor were any additional advantages gained by their nomination : and the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, subsequently to the return of Rutherford and his colleagues, failed to be interesting or important. “ The power, and indeed the respectability of the Assembly, seemed to decline, when the Scots commissioners returned home, in October 1647. From that period, the members were principally occupied in examining candidates for the sequestered livings, and were considered rather as a committee than a dignified Synod. In the

* Henderson's constitution had begun to decay ere he left Edinburgh ; and on this account, he was extremely averse to go. (*Baillie's Letters*, I. 350.) Indeed, before this time, he had petitioned the General Assembly to allow him, on account of his health, to exchange his charge in Edinburgh, for one in the country. (*Ib.* 314—5.) He was long regarded as the leader of the church ; and testimonies have been borne to his talents, prudence, and eloquence, by writers of every party. He left no works behind him, except some occasional sermons ; but his name is honourably and inseparably connected with the civil and ecclesiastical history of his age. (*Reid's Memoirs of the Westminster Divines*, II. 284—345.)

meantime, the members of the Assembly gradually dwindled away; until at length, in March 1652, when the Presbyterian Commons were expelled by Cromwell, the Assembly itself finally broke up, without any legal form of dissolution *."

Any farther account of this Synod, therefore, is not called for in this work. And nothing additional is known of Rutherford as connected with it. The Presbyterian system, which had obtained the sanction of the Assembly of Divines, and of parliament, and which had been regularly instituted in London and Lancashire, began gradually from this date to lose ground in England, until, as we learn from the foregoing extract, it was superseded by Independency. Nor did it again revive. But Episcopacy, at the Restoration, triumphed over the polity which prevailed under the government of the Protector.

The expenses of the Scots commissioners while in London were, as may be expected, defrayed out of the public funds. But payment does not seem to have been always

Lightfoot's *Works*, edited by Pitman, I. preface, p. 9.

punctually made. “The commission of the General Assembly appoints the great expenses of their brothers, Mr Samuel Rutherford, and Mr George Gillespie, by their stay in London upon their own charges, the ordinarie allowance for them not being paid since April last, to be represented to the honourable committee of estates *.”

* *MS. Minutes of the Commission*, of date 26th Nov. 1647.

It may not be improper here to mention, that Mr Gillespie, (to whom we have so often referred, and who had also ably engaged as an author in the discussion of those questions of an ecclesiastical nature which then agitated the empire,) survived his return from London only about a twelvemonth. He died in Dec. 1648, ere he had passed the prime of life. He was first minister of Wemyss, and afterwards one of the ministers of Edinburgh; and was uniformly regarded as one of the ablest and most promising members of our church in that age. Rutherford addressed a very striking letter to him on his death-bed,—to which we refer the reader. (*Letters*, Part II. § 55.)

Mr Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who was appointed one of the commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, never attended.

CHAPTER IX.

Rutherford returns to St Andrew's, and enters on his duties there.—Appointed successor to Dr Howie, the principal.—Elected rector of the university.—Remarks on his accumulation of offices.—Works published by him.—Received successive invitations to the chair of divinity in the universities of Harderwyck and Utrecht, and declined acceptance.—His motives.

RUTHERFORD, immediately on his return to Scotland, resumed, it is probable, the discharge of his studies at St Andrew's, both as a professor and clergyman. Nor had these duties been neglected during his absence. Mr Alexander Colville, professor of divinity in the Protestant university of Sedan, had been inducted one of the masters in the New College in 1642*, a year before Rutherford had removed from St Andrew's to London; and in the month of June 1645, with-

* *Unprinted Acts of the General Assembly of 1642.*

in less than a year after that event, Mr James Wood, minister of Denino, in the presbytery of St Andrew's, was elected his colleague*. On Wood and Colville, therefore, the duties of the theological college devolved, during the absence of the subject of these pages. Dr Howie, the principal, indeed, was still alive, but he been obliged from old age to retire from active life, so far back as the year 1641, though in the meanwhile he was allowed to retain the income, and nominally to hold the rank, that he had so long enjoyed†. The exact date of his death I have not been able to ascertain; but it had taken place, we think, previously to the month of August 1647, as the General Assembly, which met at that time, recommends to the commission nominated for the visitation of the university of St Andrew's, Mr Samuel Rutherford, as

* *Unprinted Acts of Assembly*, 1645.

† *Printed Acts of Assembly*, 1644. The act, which secured to Howie his income and rank, notwithstanding his retirement, declares "that old ministers and professors of divinitie, shall not by their cessation from their charge, through age and inabilitie, be put from enjoying their old maintenance and dignity." For some farther particulars respecting Howie, who was a native of Aberdeenshire, and having studied on the continent, was successively minister at Aberdeen, principal of the Marischal College, and minister at Dundee, before coming to St Andrew's, and for some notices respecting his writings, consult *Life of Melville*, II. 276—280.

a proper person to be appointed principal of the New College *. This recommendation was not overlooked. On the 22d of December ensuing, the commission took steps to have it carried into effect ; and ordained the subject of this memoir to be admitted to that office between that date and the 15th of the subsequent month. A copy of this act was enclosed in a letter to the rector of the university, who was enjoined to see “the samyne performed †.” This was done accordingly ; and thus was Rutherford raised to one of the most eminent and honourable stations to which a churchman can aspire. This elevation he did not certainly owe to the circumstance of his being the senior professor in the college ; for it was not on this principle that the honour in question was ever conferred ; but it resulted from the high character he had acquired as an author and a divine. He was probably at this time the most distinguished man belonging to our national church ; and it would at least, I think, be extremely difficult

* *Unprinted Acts of General Assembly, 1647.*

† MS. notices obtained from Dr Lee.

to mention an individual of that age who was possessed of greater claims for that important office.

This appointment did not entail on him any new duties. The principal of this seminary has always had to prelect on theology ; but as Rutherford had been before in the habit of discharging that task, no additional labour was now required of him. The department of divinity, however, which fell to his share in his new character, may have been different from that which his course had formerly embraced. According to the amended constitution of the college, to which we have before referred, this was to have been the case ; but as that constitution was never fully carried into effect, it is impossible to say, whether Rutherford lectured on the same subjects before and after his advancement. The truth is, that to a man who, like him, had made the theological system in all its bearings so completely and exclusively his study, the change of one department for another must have been a work of comparatively little difficulty. Had any great accession of employment accompanied this appointment, it is probable,

from the declining state of his health, that he would not have consented to undertake it; and it may be concluded, therefore, that no such accession took place, and that the office of principal involved in it nothing additional to his former duties, except such a degree of superintendence and responsibility, as always attach to a person who holds that high office.

At a subsequent period, (1651,) we find him elevated to the dignity of rector of the university*: a place that can be filled only by one of the principals, or professors of divinity. This office, which, I believe, has never been held by any individual for more than two years in succession, is of a civil, not a literary kind. The rector is the guardian of the statutes, privileges, and discipline of the university. Complaints may be brought before him against any of the members, except the chancellor: and an appeal may be made to him, in matters of discipline, from the decision of the college: but his sentence is not final, as an appeal lies

* *Session Records of St Andrew's.* I do not know the exact date of his appointment, but in these records, at the time spoken of in the text, he is mentioned under the designation of *rector* and *principal*.

from his decision to the Court of Session : an alternative which has seldom been called into operation *.

We cannot but take notice here of the multiplicity of employments with which Rutherford was now burdened. He was professor of divinity, principal of the New College, rector of the university, and one of the ministers of the city ;—situations, the duties of which it may be thought impossible for any one individual, particularly for Rutherford, whose constitution had begun to exhibit marks of decay, to have discharged in an adequate manner. There is much truth in this opinion. Two of these functions, however, were nearly nominal ; one of them, indeed, continued only for two years. But still he united in himself the offices of a professor and a clergyman, each of which is generally regarded as requiring for the due discharge of its important avocations, the undivided time and energy of the person, however gifted he may be, that fills it. On this principle, we certainly think, that Rutherford might have been

* Grlerson's *History of St Andrews*, 178—180.

more usefully employed, and have composed works more deserving of the attention of succeeding ages, had the offices in question been divided, and the duties of only one of them devolved on him. But his case was a peculiar one. He delighted in the clerical office, insomuch that we have found him often declare, that “wo is me if I preach not the gospel.” And when he was about to be violently translated from a pastoral to an academical charge, he insisted as a condition of his consenting, that he might be permitted the privilege of preaching. This favour was granted him: and he was accordingly united with Mr Robert Blair, in the ministry at St Andrew’s. Whether at first he undertook the performance of any other part of the sacred duties, than those of the pulpit alternately with Mr Blair, we are not informed. But it is believed, that for some time his services were gratuitous*. At a future period, however, he either drew stipend regularly, or received a gratuitous allowance made him by the city and parish; and he seems to have discharged his full

* *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 93.

share of pastoral labour. In the Session Records, from the year 1649, till within a short time of his death, he is as often mentioned, along with his colleague Mr James Wood, as preaching, and as presiding in the session, as either of the other two ministers, Mr Robert Blair, or Mr Andrew Honeyman *. Pluralities, as the union of offices in the church has been termed, may be characterized as generally indefensible, and as injurious to the cause both of literature and religion. But in the person of Rutherford, they were as little objectionable as in any instance they can be conceived to be ; his unrivalled assiduity and faithfulness enabling him to answer all the calls that could be made upon him. “ He seemed,” says M’Ward, “ to pray constantly, to preach

* *Session Records.* There was at this time public worship in the church of St Andrew’s four days in the week, namely, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday. Every minister, during the common-wealth, was obliged to preach “ thrice a week ; to lecture and catechise once.” (*Kirkton’s History*, 64.)

Blair and Honeyman were, properly speaking, the ministers of St Andrew’s ; and Rutherford and Wood had been joined with them, purely in consequence of the urgent request of these two latter individuals. Rutherford’s case has just been mentioned. And Wood, when appointed one of the masters of the New College, refused to demit the charge of Denino, unless he were permitted to preach at St Andrew’s. This request was acceded to, and confirmed by the General Assembly. (*Dr Nicoll’s Speech*, in *Report of the Debate in the General Assembly 1825, on the overtures anent the union of offices.*) In a note to that speech, may be found a quotation from the records of St Andrew’s, in proof of the fact of Rutherford’s drawing stipend.

constantly, to catechise constantly, to be still in visiting the sick, in exhorting from house to house, to teach as much in the schooles, and spend as much time with the young men, as if he had been sequestrat from all the world besids : and withall, to write as much as if he had been constantly shut up in his closet, so that one Mr Rutherford seemed to be many able godly men in one, or one who was furnished with the grace and abilities of many *."

On resuming his academical and clerical labours, he did not withdraw from the consideration of those important questions respecting church government, in which he had engaged so ardently while in England. The year after his return, he published a large volume of a controversial nature against various alleged heresies, particularly Antinomianism ; a belief first introduced and defended by John Agricola, originally a disciple of Luther, but which at this time was carried in England to an extent which its founder never contemplated. To this work † he

* *Preface to the first edit. of Rutherford's Letters.*

† This work is entitled, " A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist,

prefixed “A brotherly and free epistle to the patrons and friends of pretended liberty of conscience :” an address that extends to twenty-five quarto pages, and in which he not merely re-echoes the opinions he had formerly urged, but endeavours to refute and expose some of the attacks which his former treatises had excited, or which had been levelled at the polity that he had espoused *. He continues to plead the divine right of presbytery, and to urge the opinion, that all contrary sects were heretical, and ought not to be tolerated. And in the course of the next year after the appearance of this book, he gave to the world a publication on a similar subject, entitled “A Free Disputation against Pretended

opening the secrets of Familisme and Antinomianism, in the Antichristian Doctrine of John Saltmarsh, and Will. Del, the present preachers of the army now in England, and of Robert Town, Tob. Crisp, M. Denne, Eaton, and others. In which is revealed the rise and spring of Antinomians, Familists, Libertines, Swenckfeldians, Enthysiasts, &c. The mind of Luther, a most professed opposer of Antinomians, cleared, and diverse considerable points of the law and the gospel, of the spirit and letter of the two covenants, of the nature of free grace, exercise under temptations, mortification, justification, sanctification, are discovered.” Lond. 1648. 4to. pp. 593.

* This *Epistle* is employed chiefly in repelling the virulent and scurrilous attacks made against himself, and the Scottish Church, by the celebrated Henry Burton, in a work recently published, entitled *Conformity's Deformity; or a dialogue between conformity and conscience.*

Liberty of Conscience * ;” a work which evinces great learning and ability, but which, from the spirit it breathes, is not entitled to much praise. It enforced the object for which the author had long struggled, namely, the extermination of every sect, except that to which himself belonged. Such a spirit, if acted upon by the dominant party in any church, or by those who think, or affect to think, that their tenets alone are scriptural, and that all others are erroneous, would soon cover the world with slaughter and blood, and would render Christianity a curse, not a blessing. But we must not attach the blame of a party to one individual. The opinion which Rutherford inculcated, was that of the church of which he was a member. It was the principle on which the Solemn League and Covenant was founded, and was the object which the General Assembly had in view, in recognizing the Synod of Westminster, and sending commissioners to it. The Assembly charac-

* The full title is, “A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience, tending to resolve doubts, moved by Mr John Godwin, John Baptist, Dr Jer, Dr Taylor, the Belgick Arminians, Socinians, and other authors contending for lawlesse liberty, or licentious toleration of sects and heresies.” Lond. 1649. 4to, pp. 410,

terized "liberty of conscience" as equivalent, "by an abuse of the word, to liberty of error, scandal, heresy, and schism *:" and this judicatory went so far as to forbid all intercourse with persons supposed to entertain erroneous doctrines, and prohibit the importation or spread of books of that character †.

Under such circumstances, Rutherford, when condemning liberty of conscience, was only enforcing the principles on which the church then proceeded; principles which we cannot fail to reprobate, but for which we ought to find Rutherford guilty, only in conjunction with his brethren. Nor is their conduct devoid of some extenuating considerations. The persecutions they had undergone, in defending the Presbyterian faith, were calculated to give to that faith an importance with which they would not otherwise have invested it, and to impart a character of error and unsoundness to the tenets of an opposite system, of which impartial reason will not approve. Such a result was almost unavoidable, from

* *Acts of the Assembly, 1647.*

† *ib.*

the circumstances in which the Presbyterians had been placed. Rutherford, at least, had his judgment on this subject so perverted, that he regarded himself as discharging an imperious duty, when he enforced the principles in question. “Not to give a testimony for the truth,” says he, in allusion to this topic, “would be to sinne against the Holy Ghost. Silence may be a washing of the hands with Pilate, saying, I am innocent of the blood of lost souls, but it washeth away the guilt with waters of inke and blood. And except my heart deceive me, give me leave to borrow an expression of Job, if I lift up my hand, or a bloody pen against the truly godly, or have a pick at holinesse, *Let mine arm fall from my shoulder blade, and mine arme be broken from the bone**.”

It was at this time also, (1651,) that he published his large work on Divine Providence, under the title of *Disputatio Scholastica de Divina Providentia*†; to

* *Epistle to the patrons of Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, prefixed to his work on Arminianism.

† “*Disputatio Scholastica de Divina Providentia, variis praelectionibus, quod attinet ad summa rerum capita, tradita S. Theologiae Adolescentibus Candidatis in inclyta Academia Andreapolitana, in qua adversus Jesuitas, Arminianos, Socinianos, de Dominio Dei, actione ipsius operosa circa peccatum, concursu primae causae, praedeterminatione et contenditur et decertatur. Adjectae*

hic h we have before referred. It contained the substance of part of his course of lectures, as professor of divinity. In this volume, as in former treatises, he undertakes a refutation of the doctrines of the Jesuits, Arminians, and Socinians. But we need not proceed to characterize it further, as we have already submitted some notices of it to the reader.

The fame of Rutherford may now be regarded as having attained its height; and his character as a scholar, a divine, and an author, was not inferior to that of any of his contemporaries in the same church. In the General Assembly of 1649, an attempt had been made to procure his removal to Edinburgh, as professor of divinity in the university of that city, but this intention, as Baillie states, being “thought absurd*,” was laid aside. But his reputation was not confined to his native country; it had become considerable on the continent, particularly in Holland, where sentiments similar

sunt Disquisitiones Metaphysicae de Ente, Possibili, Dominio Dei in entia et non entia, et variae questiones quae ad uberiores et exquisitiores Doctrinae de Providentia Divina imprimis conducunt. *Studius et Industria Samuelis Retorfortis*, &c. Edin, 1651. 4to. pp. 620.

* Baillie's *Letters*, II. 342.

to his own, both on ecclesiastical and theological subjects, were generally entertained, and where the controversies in which he had engaged, had excited the deepest interest. A university having been established in the town of Harderwyck in 1648, he was invited to the chair of Divinity and Hebrew in that seminary. "It is not his English he writes," says William Spang, minister of Campvere, "that commended him, as his Latin treatise against the Jesuits and Arminians*." His acceptance of this office would have been an almost irreparable loss to the Presbyterian cause in Scotland, where he stood forward as its intrepid and able advocate. "You must," says the same writer, "be well advised at home what to do, if our kirk can want such a man in the great scarcity of such †." The appointment, however, he thought proper not to accept; though of the circumstances connected with his refusal, we have no knowledge. But of the call which he subsequently received to a similar situation in the university of Utrecht, and of the mo-

* Ib. ib. II. 327.

† Ib. ib.

tives from which he declined to comply with t, we possess the most minute information. i Charles de Maets, better known by the Latin name of Dematius, having died in April 1651, the chair of divinity in the university just mentioned, which he had held, became vacant; and the magistrates of the city, who were the patrons of the college, seem immediately to have directed their views to Rutherford, as a person well fitted to be his successor, as on the 26th of the ensuing month, they elected him to that office. The election evidently took place before Rutherford could have been informed of the intention of the patrons, or before they could have known whether he would comply with it. And accordingly they dispatched his brother, James Rutherford, then an officer in a regiment lying in garrison at Grave*, to St Andrew's with a letter, containing the appointment, and urging his acceptance of it. But the ship in which the brother embarked, was taken by some English cruiser, (for

* “*Ordinibus nostris militabat,*” says Nethenus, in the *Praefatio* to Rutherford's posthumous work, entitled *Examen Arminianismi*, edited by him.

England, as we shall soon learn, was now, under Cromwell, engaged in war with Scotland ;) and after being stripped of the letter, and every thing he possessed, he was confined a prisoner in Leith. He was not allowed, however, to remain long in confinement, as the States General immediately interposed in his behalf, and obtained his release. Rutherford, when his brother intimated to him verbally the object of his mission, the official call having been lost, declined to accept. But the magistrates of Utrecht seem to have indulged the hope, that if a second invitation were forwarded to him by the same relative, (who had meanwhile returned to Holland *,) he would be induced to comply. This second application was accordingly tried, (25th November 1651,) but was equally unsuccessful. On receiving it, indeed, Rutherford appears to have hesitated whether he would accept, and requested six months to come to a determination. But at the end of that period, he addressed a letter to the patrons,

* Of James Rutherford, we know nothing farther than what is stated in the text, except he had died, and was buried at Utrecht previously to the year 1668, (*Praefatio, ut supra.*)

thanking them for the high honour they had done him, but begging them to lose no time in appointing a successor to De Maets, as he could not think of abandoning his own church in the perilous circumstances in which she then stood*. The magistrates are stated to have received this notification with great regret. They knew of no other suitable person for the important office; but in the meantime, they devolved the duties of it on two clergymen, till they should find a permanent professor. And it may not be improper to mention, that on the 8th of February 1653, the celebrated Essenius was installed professor of divinity; and on the 26th of May, in the subsequent year, the equally celebrated Nethenus was inducted as his colleague: names that we shall have occasion again to mention in the course of our narrative †.

* “Sed cum interea Oliverus Cromwellus Regem, eodem anno in Scotia coronatum; profligato ejus exercitu, regno ejecisset, omnia jam mala patriae metuens, negavit se, salva conscientia, in tantis periculis, eam posse deserere; sed teneri patriae ecclesiae, jam animam agenti, adesse, et saltem funeris deductioni et sepulturae interesse.” (*Praefatio, ut supra.*) Nethenus is high authority on this subject, as, holding the office which Rutherford declined, he must have known well the circumstances attending that refusal.

† The substance of the greater part of the narrative, given in the text, may be found in the *Praefatio* of Nethenus. For much minute and corroborative materials connected with this part of

The reason that Rutherford assigns for declining the invitation to Utrecht, and for continuing in Scotland, reflects the highest honour on his memory. It consists, indeed, with the opinion which the reader must already have formed of his character. He was too ardently attached to the church to desert her at a moment of difficulty and danger. His name was in some degree associated with an interesting portion of her history; and he wished not to abandon a cause which himself had laboured to promote, and which might yet require his countenance or services. It was this latter consideration that appears to have regulated his conduct on this occasion. At this period, he exhibited the same devoted attachment to the principles, and regard for the welfare of the Scottish church, that we have seen him before so frequently and conspicuously display. "Let me intreat you," says he, in a letter to a friend who seems to have formed the resolution of removing

Rutherford's history, I am indebted to a valuable communication, forwarded to me by the Rev. William Steven, Rotterdam. Mr Steven derived his information from the celebrated Professor Moll of Utrecht, who liberally transmitted to him copious extracts from the Records of the city.

to the continent, “let me intreat you to be far from the thoughts of leaving this land : I see it, and find it, that the Lord hath covered the whole land with a cloud in his anger ; but *though I have been tempted to the like*, I had rather be in Scotland beside angry Jesus Christ, than in any Eden or garden in the earth *.” “I dare,” he remarks, in reference to this subject, and at the time of which we are speaking, “I dare, and would gladly breathe out my spirit in that way, with a nearer communion and fellowship with the Father and Son, and would seek no more but that I might die believing †.”

* *Letters*, Part II. § 60.

† *Ib. ib.* § 6.

CHAPTER X.

Public affairs of the church.—The Engagement,—unpopular.—Rutherford hostile to it.—Malig-
nants restored to favour.—Resolutioners, and Pro-
testers,—to the latter of whom Rutherford be-
longed.—Violence of these parties.—Protesters
defended.—How long this continued.—How this
schism affected Rutherford at St Andrew's.

RUTHERFORD, while he was thus engaged
in discharging his varied and important
functions at St Andrew's, continued at the
same time to take an active share in the
public affairs of the church. We now pro-
ceed to resume our account of his life in
this department; but a few observations
must be premised, to enable us to appre-
ciate the part that he acted, and to under-
stand in what state ecclesiastical matters
were now placed.

The Scottish army, which, as already in-
timated, had marched to England in sup-

port of the parliament against the king, had returned in 1646. The attachment of the covenanters to their sovereign would never have been shaken, had he cordially embraced their favourite religious opinions, and settled the church on the principles of the Solemn League and Covenant. On this condition alone did their loyalty depend; and as Charles was inflexible on this point, they continued as obstinate in withholding their allegiance from him*. Before the Scottish troops had returned from their expedition to the south, he surrendered himself into their hands; and as he resolutely refused to make any concessions, they delivered him into the hands of the English army. This step has been visited with much reprobation, and it has been regarded as stamping an indelible stain on our national character. What truth there may be in this opinion, as the question is not properly before us, we shall not at present stop to inquire; but shall proceed to remark, that in Scotland, Charles had still a considerable party attached to his cause, headed by the

* *Acts of the General Assembly, passim.*

Duke of Hamilton, who either did not approve of the church as established there, or did belong to the more moderate adherents of that polity. The treatment which his majesty had experienced at the hands of the Scottish army, and the fear with some that presbytery might suffer in the sister kingdom, in consequence of the triumph of the Independents, revived a spirit of loyalty in Scotland; of which Hamilton took advantage, to make some movements in favour of a captive sovereign. The church was decidedly hostile to any such measures, unless Charles would first acquiesce in those conditions which they had before urged upon him in vain. This hostility, however, was of no avail; for in opposition to every remonstrance, the committee of estates appointed commissioners to communicate with the king; who, having gone to England for that purpose, entered into a treaty with him, afterwards so famous under the appellation of the Engagement, and which was soon the cause of war between the two kingdoms. The terms on which the bond was formed were, on the one hand, that Charles should establish presbytery for three years by act

of parliament, and confirm and subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, but that it should not be imposed on such as from scruples of conscience objected to it; and on the other hand, that the kingdom of Scotland, if favourable conditions could not otherwise be obtained from the English army and parliament, should endeavour to gain that object by force of arms. This Engagement was extremely obnoxious to the covenanters, inasmuch as it involved a virtual abrogation of the covenant, and sapped the foundation of the Presbyterian faith. It was loudly condemned both by the General Assembly, and by the inferior church courts; and ministers were enjoined to lift their testimony against it, both in private conferences, and from the pulpit*. Rutherford is recorded as taking an active part in that distracting business, and as engaged both in private and public consultations with some of the most eminent of his contemporaries, with the view of accomplishing a compromise between the church

* *Acts of the Assemblies of 1648 and 1649.*

and state *. But this was found to be impossible. The decided opposition made by the ecclesiastical judicatories failed of its effects. Hamilton entered England at the head of a large army ; and being met by Cromwell at Preston, was completely routed, (Aug. 1648.) The result is well known. The Independent army under that illustrious commander, gained uncontrollable ascendancy. The king was soon after brought to trial, and on the 30th of May 1649, terminated his unhappy life on the scaffold.

Owing to the defeat of this imprudent expedition, the Presbyterians again became predominant in Scotland ; and they availed themselves of the power they possessed for the punishment of those who had supported the Engagement. These persons are known in history by the designation of Malignants ; an appellation, indeed, applied before this time by the covenanters, to all distinguished for blind attachment to loyalty. The commission of the church, in conjunction with parliament, distributed them into various classes by an act, termed *the act of classes*,

* Baillie's *Letters*, II. 281. 283.

the object of which was to render them incapable of filling any offices of trust, and to subject them to ecclesiastical censure. And the General Assembly that met in 1649, to which the farther consideration of the subject had been referred, enacted that the disabilities in question should attach to them till they admitted their error, and testified their repentance before their respective congregations, and till they subscribed a declaration to that effect, drawn up by the Assembly, and expressed in the most contrite and humiliating terms. Such as held any rank above that of Lieutenant, were not to be received to give satisfaction, except by the Assembly itself, or its commission. These disabilities, we may remark, applied also to those who had been connected with a rising recently made in the north in favour of the king, by the celebrated Marquis of Montrose *.

The object of these enactments is obvious; namely, to prevent conflicting measures by the exclusion from power of persons, whose opinions as to the most impor-

* *Acts of Assembly, ut supra.*

tant questions, both of ecclesiastical and civil policy, were not only not agreeable to the public voice, but the very reverse of it; and whose secret machinations or open hostility had been more than once unhappily experienced. They were men, in short, who had forfeited all claim to confidence on the part of the covenanters. They had made war upon the English, with whom the church and state of Scotland had so long maintained a close and interesting alliance,—and in favour of a king to whom the Scots were under no obligations, who had trampled on their dearest rights, and had resolutely refused every stipulation or guarantee that should mutually obtain, under a free government, between a sovereign and his people. That such a system of exclusion is justifiable as a general principle, we are far from thinking, but from the distracted state of the country, and the peculiar state of parties, and the magnitude of the interests at stake, we cannot regard it as uncalled for or inexpedient, at the period of which we are treating.

The church and state of Scotland, on the death of Charles I. immediately proceeded

to recognize his son as the lawful heir of the throne, and adopted steps to secure his succession. Of these steps we cannot here give an account; but we may remark, that every offer that was made to him, proceeded on the condition that the Solemn League and Covenant be acknowledged, and the Presbyterian system established. This satisfaction he long hesitated to give, but having at length done so, he was conducted to Scotland, and crowned at Scone, (1st January 1651,) amid the universal joy of the nation.

The king, it may here be stated, paid a visit to St Andrew's on a journey he made through Fifeshire, soon after his arrival in Scotland, and before his coronation. On his arrival at the gates of the city, the magistrates presented him with the keys, which were made of silver. At the port, Andrew Honeyman made an address to him in the English language. What was the subject of it we know not; but we are told, that Charles "comeing forward to the Newe Colledge, Mr Samuell Rutherford had a speche to him in Latine, running mutch up-

on what was the dewtie of kings *." Of this circumstance, nothing farther is told than what we have just stated; but, while it may serve as a specimen, though not a striking one, of the familiarity with which the covenanters treated his majesty †, it furnishes us, at the same time, with a fresh proof of the candour and honest intrepidity which we have so often seen Rutherford display.

England, under the domination of the Independents, had in the interval become a republic; and the news of the events which we have been narrating, excited deep interest in that country; and lest the English Presbyterians, who were still a numerous body, should join their Scottish brethren, Cromwell marched north with a numerous army. He found the Scots not unprepared to receive him: but from dissensions in their

* Lamont's *Chronicle of Fife*, 24.

† An anecdote is told of Robert Blair, which, if true, affords us a better instance of the indignity to which we refer. The king honoured this clergyman with a visit while in St Andrew's. When he entered, Blair, labouring under a bodily distemper, was unable to rise; and when his wife proceeded to offer a seat to his majesty, he said, "My heart, do not trouble yourself: he is a young man, and may draw in one to himself." (*Hist. Rel. of General Assembly* 1690.) This anecdote, however, is scarcely consistent with the fact that Blair preached before the king on the day after his arrival at St Andrew's. (*Lamont's Chronicle*, 24.)

army, he gained a complete victory over them at Dunbar, (September 1650.) This brought parties in Scotland to a crisis. New troops required to be levied ; and the king, who felt warmly attached to his own friends, and those of his father, who had been labouring under disabilities since the passing of the act of classes, used the present emergency as a fit occasion to get them restored to the enjoyment of the privileges which they had forfeited. The pretext for this was the want of an efficient force to oppose the enemy, and the necessity that existed for abrogating all minor distinctions, and for the union of all ranks in the common cause. He accordingly published an act of indemnity ; and applied to the committee of estates, and the commission of the church, to give efficiency to this measure. This they at first refused ; but Cromwell having gained some farther advantages, the two bodies in question passed resolutions, confirming the wishes of his majesty : the act of classes was soon also repealed ; and Malignants were admitted to the most important offices, and ere long got the management of the kingdom into their own hands.

Though the commission of the Assembly had by a great majority passed those resolutions, yet a numerous and respectable portion of the church entirely disapproved of them, and protested against the competence of that meeting of the commission which had adopted so equivocal a procedure. They represented that this meeting was unduly convened, that many members were not apprized of it, and that the time of its sitting was so short, that several members who wished to attend had not been able to arrive. A Remonstrance on this ground, and on the terms on which the king should be recognized, was prepared by five counties conjointly *, and presented to the commission; and many meetings were held, in order the more completely to organize this opposition, and to make it as strong as possible. Means were also used to obtain from the inferior ecclesiastical judicatories, declarations against the obnoxious procedure in question. Rutherford, whose name is intimately connected with this portion of our history, ap-

* Renfrew, Ayr, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, and Dumfries.

pears first, so far as we know, as taking any public share in the discussion of this question, as a member of the provincial synod of Fife, in 1650. Almost the only subject agitated in that court, was that respecting the malignants; and Rutherford, attaching himself, as he had always done, to the stricter side of the church, opposed any relaxation of the laws that had been enacted against them*. The same synod, at its meeting held six months afterwards, addressed letters to the committee of estates, and to the commission of the Assembly, urging the one to perform their duty on the present emergency, and approving of the conduct of the other in regard to malignancy. Against the communication to the commission Rutherford protested; in which he was joined by only one member; though "sundrie dissented†."

On another occasion, when both the commission of the Assembly and the committee of estates expressed their disapprobation of the remonstrance presented by the western counties, and declared such as adhered to

* Lamont's *Chronicle of Fife*, 28.

† *Ib.*, 34.

that remonstrance incapable of being members of the public judicatories, either of church or state, we find him pursuing a similar course, and with many of his brethren give in a protestation against that harsh and uncalled for step *. A great deal of keen debate occurred at this meeting. Rutherford, though he seems to have endeavoured with others to soothe the violence of some of the remonstrants, was himself far from being moderate in enforcing his own views †. The truth is, great virulence and illiberality were displayed on both sides; and a schism had now taken place in the church which occasioned the most unhappy distractions, and alienated the affections of many who had formerly lived in terms of the most friendly intercourse. The commission had, in the meantime, proceeded in the most arbitrary manner. They had discharged all ministers and preachers from speaking or writing against the public resolutions; and they had ordained presbyteries to visit with church

* Lamont's *Chronicle of Fife*, 30.

† Baillie's *Letters*, II. 281—3. Rutherford's *Letters*, III. 62.

censure, or summoned before the ensuing Assembly, all who had in any way opposed these resolutions. When this judicatory met*, (which was in July 1651,) matters were brought to a crisis. And the remonstrants, as they had characterized the commission as unconstitutionally convened, protested also against the freedom of this supreme court; and from this circumstance, they obtained the appellation of Protesters, while the party opposed to them were denominated Resolutioners. Rutherford was at the head of the Protesters on this occasion. Without entering on the merits of the subject in dispute, they protested, as already hinted, against the lawfulness of the meeting, alleging it to be corrupt, not legally constituted, and under undue influence. It was, in truth, composed almost solely of persons favourable to the conduct of the Resolutioners, as many of those who entertained opposite sentiments, being cited as parties before it, could not attend as mem-

* Wodrow's *History of the Church of Scotland*,—Introduction, where a very brief, but distinct account is given of this unhappy business.

bers. Rutherford presented the protestation, to which were attached the signatures of some of the most respectable men in the church *. But it had no effect. The procedure of the commission was approved: the western remonstrance was condemned; a “warning” against adopting the principles of the Protesters was passed, and ordered to be read in all the churches; and three clergymen were deposed, and one suspended, in consequence of the peculiar violence of the opposition †.

Matters continued in this state till the next meeting of the Assembly, which took place at Edinburgh in July 1652; each party having in the interval, from the pulpit and through the press, and by every means in their power, struggled to advance their respective views. Steps similar to those previously adopted were taken on this occasion. And a protestation was again given in against its legality. This protestation has

* Lamont's *Chronicle of Fife*, 40. Twenty one or twenty two signatures were attached to the document. (Ib. ib.)

† Ib. ib. Baillie's *Letters*, II. 349. *et seq.* *A True Representation of the rise, progress, and state of the present Divisions of the Church of Scotland.* Lond. 1657.

been printed * ; and candour requires it to be stated, that it is couched in terms sufficiently mild and respectful ; that it abounds with such sentiments only, as good men struggling against alleged error might be supposed to utter ; and that it contains cogent reasons in favour of the procedure they had thought it their duty to adopt. It also specifies terms and conditions on which the Protesters were anxious to come to a friendly understanding with their brethren. But no compromise could now be made. Each side seems to have regarded the other as in the wrong. And the Assembly lent its sanction to all the enactments on the subject which the preceding meeting had framed. The breach between the two parties was now, if possible, wider than ever. The inferior courts, nay colleagues in the same charge, were divided

* It is entitled, " The Representation, Propositions, and Protestation of divers ministers, elders, and professors, for themselves, and in name of many other well affected ministers, elders, and people in Scotland. Presented by the Lord Warriston, Mr Andrew Cant, Mr John Livingstone, Mr Samuel Rutherford, and diverse others, to the ministers and elders, met at Edinburgh July 21. 1652." Leith,—Evan Tyler, 1652, 4to. pp. 20. The number of ministers who subscribe this document, was sixty-seven ; that of " elders, professors, and expectants, many of whom subscribed not onely in their own names, but in name of others, from whom they were sent to the meeting," was ninety-five. " Besides divers others, some of whose names could not well be read ; others being withdrawn by their necessary affairs, were not present with the rest in time of subscribing."

against each other; and a spirit prevailed in the church, not only unfavourable to the cultivation of piety, but directly opposed to it: and thus theological controversy, in this instance as in others, was made subservient to the gratification of passions, which religion condemns, and is meant to restrain.

There is no period in the history of our church, that suggests more unpleasant or melancholy reflections, than that to which our present discussion refers. It is mortifying enough, when, under the same government, the adherents and supporters of two rival ecclesiastical systems, hate and persecute each other; but it is unspeakably unhappy, when the members of the same church, like those of the same family, are opposed to each other, are deaf to candour and liberal dealing, and, overlooking the public welfare of their Zion, are ready to sacrifice that welfare to the accomplishment of party views, or the gratification of personal resentment. This we fear was the case, to a greater or less degree, with the parties into which the Scottish church was now divided. To which of these parties the greater blame ought to be attached, it

is not easy to say. The chief error with both of them, was the rancorous dislike which they mutually shewed, and the unchristian pertinacity with which they urged it. Our opinion, we confess, though it is not, we believe, the general sentiment, is in favour of the Protesters. We cannot approve of the facility with which the commission yielded to the wishes of the sovereign in favour of malignants. The “tender mercies” of the crown in regard to the Presbyterian faith had often, as we have seen, been unhappily experienced. Charles was known to be at heart hostile to that faith ; and though he had, to serve his present views, recognized and established it *, it was evident to many, that the moment he could do so with safety, he would prove untrue to it. The great body of the malignants had been opposed to the Reformation of religion, as accomplished in 1638,

* *A Declaration by the King's Majesty, to his subjects of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.* Edin. 1650. 4to. pp. 16. In this *Declaration*, which was emitted by the king, previously to his coronation, to remove every ground of objection which might be urged against him, he promises and declares, that “he will have no enemies, but the enemies of the covenant, and that he will have no friends, but the friends of the covenant.” He also requires such of his subjects as have stood “in opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant, and work of Reformation, upon a pretext of kingly interest, or any other pretext whatsoever, to lay down their enmity against the cause and people of God,”

and afterwards improved ; and the hands of not a few of them were still wet with the blood of their countrymen *. To this character there were some honourable exceptions : but we have no hesitation in characterizing the malignants as a whole, as men who disregarded popular rights, whose sentiments both as to church and state were behind the age in which they lived, and who possessed no attachment to that form of ecclesiastical polity, which was so acceptable to the great body of the people. Under such circumstances, we cannot condemn those who resisted the public resolutions, as the object of these resolutioners was to endeavour to unite individuals, who could not from the nature of things be expected cordially to coalesce ; and as it was evident from the secret leanings of the king, (and it really took place,) that the chief honours and the management of the nation would devolve on those in whose favour the act in

* This refers to those who had lately been engaged in the hostilities carried on by Montrose in the north, after the death of Charles I. in order to accomplish the recognition of his son to the throne by force of arms. This attempt, which had the sanction of the young prince, was made while commissioners from Scotland were negotiating with Charles at Breda.—A fast-day was observed over the whole kingdom, on account of the defeat of Montrose. (*Lamont's Chronicle*, 21.)

question was passed. When men are seen walking about Zion, and marking her bulwarks, and considering her palaces, for the unhallowed purpose of plotting her destruction, it is the duty of the watchmen to lift up their voice, and to proclaim the apprehended danger. On this principle we are disposed rather to approve than condemn the party to which Rutherford belonged; though we deeply regret the unpardonable extent to which that party,—to which indeed both sides, carried their opposition.

The unhappy hostility, which we have been characterizing, continued in the church with little diminution till the Restoration: but Cromwell, who had now overrun the kingdom, and had virtually reduced it to a province of England, prohibited any subsequent meeting of the General Assembly*,

* Baillie's *Letters*, II. 369—70. When this Assembly had met in 1653, Colonel Crottrel entered and dissolved the meeting. "He commanded all of us to follow him, else he would drag us out of the room. When we had entered a protestation of his unheard of and unexampled violence, we did rise and follow him. He led us through the whole streets a mile out of the town, all the people gazing and mourning as at the saddest spectacle they had ever seen. When he had led us a mile out of the town, he then declared what further he had in commission,—That we should not dare to meet any more above three in number; and that against eight o'clock to-morrow, we should depart the town, under pain of being guilty of breaking the publick peace; and the day following, we were commanded off the town, under the pain of present imprisonment." (lb. ib.) This judicatory did not again meet, till after the Revolution.

so that the two contending parties had no farther opportunity of urging their rival sentiments in that judicatory. Had not this check been put to their violence, and had not the authority of the inferior courts become relaxed or divided, there is no bounds to which they might not have gone, and they might even have lifted against each other the weapons which had formerly been directed against themselves. As it was, they not only wrote *, but preached against each other, and the inferior judicatories were in many instances divided, each party holding its separate meeting. The protesters kept themselves quite separate from their opponents. They convened assemblies of ministers, elders, and private christians, not recognized by the church; and in these meetings entered on the discussion of questions which had the effect of rendering reconciliation difficult, if not impossible †. They represented themselves as the pure

* A voluminous controversy took place, but with the exception of being engaged with others in the drawing out of some public papers, I am not aware that Rutherford had any connexion as an author with any of the numerous pamphlets that appeared; with this exception, that in the preface of his *Survey of Hooker*, published in 1658, he briefly alluded to the subject.

† *Life of Livingstone*, 54.

and orthodox part of the church: they became more zealous, if possible, in the discharge of the sacred duties; their pulpit services were extended, were more apparently solemn, and were delivered with such a tone of voice as more effectually to inspire religious awe and veneration. "Never," says Kirkton, "was there greater purity and plenty of the means of grace, than was at this time. Ministers were powerful; people were diligent; and if a man had seen one of their solemn communions, where many congregations mett in great multitudes, some dozen of ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance, (so serious were they in spiritual exercises,) for three days at least, he would have thought it a solemnity unknown to the rest of the world. And I verily believe," says the same author, "there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the Reformation, though of treuple its duration *."

While ministers are thus represented as

* Kirkton's *History*, 54—5. See also Law's *Memorials*, 7.

zealous, and the gospel prospering, the unhappy differences still continued to prevail; and though mutual anxiety was expressed for a reconciliation or a compromise, and though conferences were held to accomplish this desirable end, yet it could not be attained. Both sides were inflexible. Neither of them would give up the high ground which they had at first assumed; while they wished the other to surrender every thing. Scenes that disgrace religion not unfrequently were witnessed; each party struggling, where a parish was vacant, to get it filled by a person of their own sentiments. At the settlement of a new minister, instead of seriousness or solemnity pervading the assembled multitude, they were guilty of the most unchristian and ruthless behaviour; the sacred rites were defiled with blood; and the arm of civil authority had often to be interposed to disperse the crowd, and to avert the most awful calamities *.

* Burnet's *History of his own Times*, I. 85—90. Baillie's *Letters*, II. 371. *et seqq.* *A True Representation of the Rise, &c. ut supra.*

Amid these dissensions, however, which I hasten to pass over, the two contending parties agreed in one important point, namely, in their attachment to the exiled monarch, though in somewhat different degrees,—and in their disapprobation of the present usurpation. The Presbyterians, indeed, were always distinguished for loyalty, though, to their honour be it recorded, they insisted on such conditions and stipulations, in order to form a counterpoise to the lawlessness of unlimited prerogative, that should ever obtain between a sovereign and a free people. Though government took little interest in these religious differences, Cromwell is supposed to have been rather favourable to the protesters, as they were not regarded to be so ardent in their attachment to Charles, and had insisted on more strict terms from him. He found it necessary, however, to court on both sides, both on account of their numbers and influence, and in order not to exasperate the Presbyterian party in England, between whom and their brethren in the north, an intimate connexion still continued to sub-

sist *. He had nominated a council in Scotland, to dispose of vacant benefices; and with a view of securing the attachment of our church, an order was issued, (not to speak of other means that were adopted to attain the same end,) that no clergyman should be inducted to a vacant living, who did not subscribe a declaration expressive of his allegiance to the Protector, and of a determination to live dutifully and peaceably under the present government. This declaration, which we will be astonished to hear the resolutioners, with all their loyalty, agreed to make, was obnoxious to Rutherford, and the greater number of his party †. He inveighed against it in the preface to his “Survey” of Hooker, objecting to it, not from a desire to deny present allegiance, (for that they did not refuse,) but chiefly in consequence of the objections it implied regarding the future; a proof that they yet expected Charles to give the requisite satisfaction, and to be restored to the throne. Means were used to get it recalled. A de-

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, IV. 547—8. The letter to which I refer in Thurloe is extremely curious, and throws great light on the state of parties at this time.

† Thurloe's *State Papers*, V. 655—6.

putation for that purpose were despatched to London to wait on the Protector, consisting of Patrick Gillespie, principal of the College of Glasgow, James Simpson, and two others. The following letter, written by Rutherford to Simeon Ashe, a celebrated clergyman of the city of London, refers to this part of our narrative, and as it throws considerable light on the state of parties, is not unworthy of the reader's attention.

“ Reverend and Worthy Sir, * * * I would recommend to you the bearer, Mr James Simpson *, a faithfull preacher of the gospell : be pleased to heare him ; I trust, he shall give you a true and faithfull relation of our affaires. You may be pleased to beleive me, these men, who have borrowed your eare, to blacke the godly in the land, and who have now both deserted us and the covenant, and joyned first with the malignant party, and now have owned the present powers, and brought the intrants to

* James Simpson was minister of Airth. He was one of three deposed by the General Assembly of 1651, as being a violent remonstrant, (*Lamont's Chronicle*, 401.) He was imprisoned on the Restoration, and being indicted for death, was banished in 1662. He took refuge in Holland, from which he never returned, (*Livingstone's Characteristics*, art. Simpson.) See also *Baillie's Letters*, II. 414—17.

the ministry to give under their hand and subscription an engagment, (the writ calls it a resolution to live peaceably and inoffensively under the present government,) so that noe godly man can get any maintenance in this land, but such as will sinfully comply, and such as care not what an entry they have to that holy calling, doe embrace it these men seeke more their owne things, than the things of Jesus Christ; and being backed by the whole multitude of the promiscuous generality throughout the land, who are for their way, as of old the prelaticall conformists did, doe persecute the godly, and in pulpits and presbiteryes declaime against us, as unpeaceable and separatists. You may, Sir, by this, and what the bearer will make knowne to you, perceive what wrong the compliyanse of these men hath done to the cause of God. But I spare, and doe beg the favor of your other care. The grace of God be with you. I am your loving brother in Christ *."

The object of this mission was not gained.

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, V. 656. This letter was written in Nov. 1656.

James Sharp, afterwards so notorious, had been sent to London on the part of the resolutioners ; and having procured the countenance of Lord Broghill, president of the council in Scotland ; having laboured to impress upon the government unfavourable sentiments regarding the opinions and proceedings of the party to which Rutherford belonged ; and the English presbyterians being friendly to the resolutioners, he accomplished the object of his own journey, and defeated that of his opponents.

But Cromwell did not wish to shew partiality to the one at the expense of the other. He was anxious so to exercise the power with which he was invested, as not to increase exasperation in any quarter ; and acting on the principles of that toleration which he had always displayed, and of which he was the steady supporter, he gave the superiority to neither party, but held out hopes that harmony would soon be restored.

This toleration, however, was as unwelcome to a portion of the Presbyterians, and as much an object of reprobation and censure, as persecution itself would have been.

It was the more unwelcome, and the effects of it the more dreaded, in consequence of the encroachments which, about the same time, had been made on their favourite system, and the intention shewn to deprive it of some of its most valued attributes *. They were alarmed lest the distinguishing characteristics and privileges of their church should be essentially or permanently affected; and they deprecated the threatened increase of sectaries. Rutherford and his party accordingly raised their voice against the liberality, very unduly appreciated on their part, which the Protector had displayed; and drew up a testimony against it. This document is ably and speciously written, and is directed not only against that unlimited toleration which they so much lamented, but against the Erastian conduct of the government in regard to ecclesiastical matters. To this paper are adhibited the signatures of seventeen clergymen, of which that of Rutherford is the first; a circum-

* The Protector had not merely interdicted the meeting of the General Assembly, but had prohibited the tender of the covenant, or any similar obligation, and divested excommunication of its terrors, by depriving it of its temporal or legal effects.

stance that renders it probable that the measure originated with him. His sentiments on this subject, indeed, were peculiarly violent: and it is more than once alluded to in his Letters in such terms, that it is evident he regarded these sentiments as a matter of conscience, and that he believed himself to be promoting the cause of truth and godliness by opposing the proceedings of the government *. The paper in question was afterwards published †, but not till it had had the effect of calling forth a statement of a contrary nature from another body of clergymen ‡. Nothing, in short, but opposition seems to have prevailed; but it would be an unpleasant task to be obliged to dwell longer on topics, which, for the honour of our church and of religion, I wish I could have passed over in silence.

Amid these unhappy struggles, the situation of Rutherford was peculiarly unenviable. In the Synod to which he belonged,

* *Letters*, Part III. § 57. 59.

† It was entitled, *Testimony of the ministers of Perth and Stirling*, and has appended to it seventeen signatures. Several Presbyteries emitted similar testimonies.

‡ “It is believed by some, that the protesting party have quite given over the cause” of the covenant, and of opposition to Toleration. (*Rutherford's Letters*, Part III. § 57.)

there were only six other members, “where-
of two only were considerable,” who main-
tained sentiments similar to his own * ; and
I am not sure if any one of these belonged
to the presbytery of St Andrew’s. His
three colleagues at least, were men of op-
posite views. Blair, indeed, endeavoured
to act a neutral part, an object which it is
so difficult to gain. He was, in truth, not
trusted by either of the rival factions ; and
is represented as receiving “cuffs” on both
sides †. Rutherford and he had alterca-
tions on the subject, even in the public
courts. An instance of this took place at a
meeting of the Synod of Fife in 1653, when
the former presented a paper relative to the
“sins” of the ministry. This paper, pro-
bably on account of its violence, or of the
overwhelming majority of the resolutioners
in that court, was not received ; and Ru-
therford and he are recorded as having had
“some words anent the publicke business ‡.”
But his other two colleagues, particularly
Wood, were decidedly hostile to the party

* Baillie’s *Letters*, III. 403. † *Life of Robert Blair*, 122.

‡ Lamont’s *Chronicle*, 73.

to which he belonged. Wood acted a very distinguished part on the side of the resolutioners, and was so far honoured by them as to be entrusted to draw up several important papers connected with their view of the question *. “Mr Robert Blair,” notwithstanding his professed neutrality, “and Mr James Wood,” we are told, “kept St Andrew’s and Fife pretty right;” that is, they succeeded in counteracting the measures of the Protesters, and in securing the triumph of their own : “while Rutherford, to the utmost of his power, advanced the other party †.” Nor were Wood and Rutherford opposed to each other merely in the ecclesiastical courts, or through the medium of the press ; they carried the same feelings into private life, and they even prostituted the altar by using it as a instrument of personal or party altercation. The one preached against the opinions of the other. Violence, it is probable, was equally keen on both sides. Rutherford, on his death-bed, spoke of the “wrongs” that Wood had

* Baillie’s *Letters*, II. 399. 417. 423. † *ib.* 376.

done him * ; while Wood is described as “ weary of his place exceedingly,” in consequence of “ Rutherford’s daily contention with him.” It was chiefly on this account, that Sharp and his other friends obtained the removal of Wood from the New College, where he felt himself so uncomfortable, to the office of principal in St Leonard’s †.

The circumstances of Rutherford were rendered still more unhappy, inasmuch as Sharp, who was at the head of the opposite party, was one of his co-presbyters. He had been originally one of the regents of St Leonard’s ; in which capacity Rutherford, though at first he had held him in great estimation, is said to have “ discovered the hollowness and hypocrisy of his principles ‡.” When he was appointed to the church of Crail, which had previously been a double charge, he refused to admit a colleague ; a determination which, in Rutherford’s estimation, called for the interposition of the presbytery ; but the members of

* *Account of his last sickness and death*, appended to his *Testimony*, left at his death, to be afterwards referred to.

† *Baillie’s Letters*, II. 408.

‡ *Life of Sharp*, an anonymous work that was published before his death.

that court, being subservient to Sharp, and unfavourable to Rutherford, declined such interposition, and confirmed by their silence the unconstitutional step of which complaint was made *. This honest proceeding on the part of Rutherford, must have had the effect of exciting still more the hostility of the person against whom it was directed, and of widening the breach that already obtained between the subject of this narrative and his co-presbyters.

Nor could his situation in the college be less uncomfortable. Wood must have been as obnoxious to him in this place as in the church or presbytery ; and Colville, though less violent, yet belonged to the opposite party ; and though no particulars are stated, it is evident, from some remarks made by Rutherford on his death-bed, that from Colville also he had received “ offence †.” Under such circumstances, he speaks of his being “ alone, though I know,” says he, “ in whom I have trusted ‡.” He may, indeed, have been cheered and consoled by the secret consciousness of acting from upright

* *Ib. ib.* † *Account of his last sickness.* ‡ *Letters, Part III. § 55.*

motives, and of attempting to discharge what he regarded a high duty; yet his residence in St Andrew's could not in the latter years of his life have been agreeable. His colleagues in the college and in the church, and his brethren in the presbytery, being opposed to him, the circle of his private friends must have become contracted, and he could have had few, if any, beside him of congenial views, from whom he might derive sympathy, or who could appreciate, or assist in promoting, the sentiments which he laboured to inculcate. In various quarters, the asperity which the two rival parties had so long exhibited had ere this time begun to be softened down, and in some presbyteries had almost entirely disappeared*; but from peculiar circumstances in the presbytery of St Andrew's, of which the leading men on both sides were members, it is unlikely that any change took place there, or that the violence that had so long distinguished their proceedings, did not continue to exist till the Restoration, when presbytery itself, (not to speak of the parties to

* Kirkton's *History*, 56.

which it had given rise,) was violently superseded, and endeavoured to be exterminated.

The opposition which Rutherford made to the party who were in favour of the public resolutions, and the undeviating ardour with which he maintained the contrary opinions, form the most important and interesting part of his history during the time to which that discussion refers. Indeed, during that period, scarcely any thing is known of him, but what bears relation to that business. In the General Assembly of 1649, when the question as to the election of ministers for vacant benefices was under consideration, we find him support the principle, that the election should belong exclusively to the people. Various conflicting opinions on the subject were brought forward; but the decision to which the court came was, that the choice should, in the first instance, be vested in the session, and that, if the congregation acquiesced in the nomination, the election should be regarded as valid; but if the majority of the people were against that nomination, the case should be submitted to the presbytery,—which had the

power, if the objections were ill-founded, to confirm the appointment, or if otherwise, to order a new election *.—In the case of Andrew Affleck †, however, who had been nominated to St Andrew's, and with whose appointment the people were highly satisfied, he concurred with the presbytery in refusing his admission in direct opposition to the popular voice. Another instance of a similar kind took place in 1655, several years after the enactment in question had passed. James Guthrie, one of the ministers of Stirling, well known as having suffered martyrdom immediately after the Restoration, having ordained a clergyman contrary to the wish of the majority of the congregation, and the ordination having been declared undue and unconstitutional by the Synod of Perth, Rutherford, on the part of Guthrie, was invited to Stirling to preach against the decision of the Synod, and to support the legality of the procedure which that court had thought it proper to condemn. Rutherford's behaviour on these

* *Acts of Assembly* 1649; *Baillie's Letters*, II. 339—40.

† *Vide* p. 188. of this work.

two occasions seems scarcely consistent with the opinion judicially expressed by him in the General Assembly. But the cases were in some respects peculiar. Affleck was a man whom, notwithstanding the wishes of the people to the contrary, the presbytery of St Andrew's, as parties then stood, were entitled not to admit on account of the suspicions attached to his religious character*. And the question at Stirling was a rival one between the resolutioners and protesters. Party spirit at this time ran very high in that burgh. The authority of the Synod of Perth was not recognized by the protesters; and Rutherford, as well as Guthrie, may have thought it their bounden duty, under such circumstances, to endeavour to counteract the measures of their opponents, and to promote the triumph of their own views. Whatever opinion, however, we may be inclined to form of his conduct on these two occasions, Rutherford's principles were decidedly in favour of po-

* Nor were these suspicions unfounded. Affleck, who was soon after translated to Dundee, abandoned his present faith, and embraced episcopacy on the Restoration. (*Lamont's Chronicle*, 196.)

pular election, as we have heard him often testify, and as is evident from the opinion officially and deliberately given in our supreme ecclesiastical judicatory.

During the period of which we have been treating, Rutherford still continued to come occasionally before the public as a writer. In the year 1655, a production of his on practical theology appeared, entitled, "The Covenant of Life opened; or, a Treatise of the Covenant of Grace." He soon after thought it necessary to resume the controversy respecting Independency. Hooker, an independent clergyman of New England, had published in 1648, "A Survey of the sum of Church Discipline; wherein the way of the churches of New England is warranted." To this treatise Rutherford produced an answer in 1658, under the designation of "A Survey of the Survey of that Summe of Church Discipline, penned by Mr Thomas Hooker;" a volume written with equal moderation, ability, and success.

Rutherford's writings were now voluminous. He had never hesitated to submit himself to the public as an author, when he thought that either error or heresy required

to be opposed, or that the truth needed to be brought forward and enforced. But the last work of which he lived to superintend the publication, appeared in 1659, and was denominated, “Influences of the Life of Grace; or, a practical treatise concerning the manner and means of having and improving spiritual dispositions, and quickening influences from Christ, the Resurrection and the Life.” It is a composition, not controversial, but solely of a practical tendency, and it displays a minuteness, and an extent of biblical knowledge, truly admirable.

Of these, his three last works, we think it unnecessary to give a minute analysis, as, both in point of composition and of subject, they are so nearly allied to several of his former publications; and on the character of these we have dwelt at considerable length as we proceeded with our narrative. We have now, indeed, brought our account of them, as well as of his public life, to a close *; and the remaining chapter of this

* The following particulars, (which I meant to give at greater length,) were inadvertently omitted at the proper place.

From the date of the re-establishment of Presbytery in 1638, the General Assembly had exercised the most strict vigilance over the interests of education, both in schools and in the universities. Commissions of visitation to the latter had repeatedly been made,

work, we mean to devote to the most solemn part of our task; namely, a detail of the circumstances connected with his last sickness and death.

and in consequence of the suggestion and advice of this supreme court, the Scottish universities agreed to elect commissioners to meet together for the purpose of framing one uniform system of education to be adopted in all the colleges, of investigating the state of discipline that prevailed in each, and of increasing the union that obtained among them. The first convention of these commissioners took place at Edinburgh in August 1647, when Alexander Colville, and Robert Blair, (though the latter was not connected with any of the colleges,) appeared as the representatives of the university of St Andrew's; but in the subsequent year, when the commissioners again convened, Rutherford and George Wemyss, principal of St Leonard's, appeared on the part of that seminary. They held various meetings, and formed various resolutions of a liberal kind, both as to discipline and education; but the principal object they had in view, namely, the establishment of a uniform system of teaching in all the universities, was not accomplished. (*Bower's Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*, I. 206—52, where a full account is given of this matter.)

CHAPTER XI.

State of public affairs.—Restoration.—Sentiments of Rutherford regarding it.—Proceedings of the Scottish Parliament, relative to the Presbyterian Church.—Rutherford's treatment.—Lex Rex burnt.—His sickness.—Death.—Family.—Character.—Writings.

THE state of public affairs is so intimately connected with the last days of Rutherford's life, and a knowledge of them is so indispensably necessary to give us an adequate idea of his situation at this crisis, that the following sketch cannot be regarded as uninteresting or irrelative.

Cromwell died in 1658; and in the subsequent year, his son, who succeeded him, resigned his high office, and retired to private life. Soon after the latter event, steps began to be taken to recal Charles, and to re-establish monarchy. General Monk,

who had long had the supreme command in Scotland, was the chief promoter of this scheme. The Scots clergy are said to have early suggested this measure to him ; and it is known that they afterwards maintained a regular correspondence with him on the subject. The Resolutioners now became the most cordial in the cause of monarchy ; but their opponents were not indifferent or remiss. Meanwhile Sharp had been despatched to London by the party to which he belonged, as the representative of the Scottish church, to use his endeavours in that capacity to effect the continuance of that ecclesiastical polity which was so generally an object of attachment and veneration. The trust thus reposed in him, Sharp disgracefully betrayed, and evinced himself as that hollow and hypocritical character, which Rutherford had so early suspected. He falsely represented the great majority of his countrymen as favourably inclined to episcopal principles ; while, at the same time, he was deceiving his brethren at home, by assurances that the cause was prospering, which at that very instant he was labouring to blast and destroy. The

Protesters had never lent him their confidence; they suspected him on this occasion of that baseness and duplicity of which he was really guilty; and chiefly on this account, they regarded it as incumbent on them to present an address to his Majesty, expressive of their congratulations on his return, and of their hopes that he would not forget the oaths and obligations in regard to the covenant and the Presbyterian faith, under which he had come at his coronation. They applied to their rivals, soliciting them to unite with them in making this approach to the throne; a request which the resolutioners, confiding in Sharp, thought it proper not to grant. This refusal, however, had no effect on the conduct of the protesters: they still resolved to carry their original intention into execution. Rutherford, who was at this time unable, from bad health, to leave St Andrew's, being consulted by his brethren respecting this step, fully concurred in the propriety of it. His opinion, expressed in a letter addressed to some of his brethren, I submit to the reader, particularly as it contains biographical and historical information, and affords us a

proof of what were his real sentiments on the important topics of which he speaks *.

“ *Reverend and dear brethren,*

“ It is a matter of difficulty to me to write at this distance, not having heard your debates. It seems the Lord calls us to give information to the king’s majesty of affairs. The Lord’s admirable providence, in bringing him to his throne, and laying aside others, who were enemies to the cause and sworn covenant of God, (so that now the government is in a right line,) is to be adored; and I judge (without prescribing) that some should be sent to his majesty, to congratulate that providence, and the reason of our being so slow in sending would be rendered.

II.—We would write, not in the name of the kirk of Scotland, but in the name of the most considerable number of godly ministers, elders, and professors, who both pray for the king, are obedient to his laws, and are under the oath of God for the sworn reformation.

III.—It is better now, than after sen-

* *Letters*, Part III. § 62.

tences and trouble, to have recourse to him, who is by place *puter patriae*.

IV.—We would supplicate in all humility for protection, countenance, far more for lawful liberty to fear the bond of the oath of the dreadful and most high Lord, avouching to his majesty, that the Lord, his holy name being interposed, will own that covenant, and bless his majesty with a happy and successful reign, in the owning thereof, and kissing of the Son of God. And when the Lord shall be pleased to grant that to us, which concerns religion, the beauty of his house, the propagating of the gospel, the government of the Lord's kingdom, without popery, prelacy, unwritten traditions and ceremonies ; let his majesty try our loyalty with what commands he shall be pleased to lay on us, and see if we be found rebellious.

V.—We would disclaim such as have sinfully complied with the late usurpers ; produce our written testimonies against them ; our not accepting of offices and places of trust from them ; our testimonies against their usurpation, covenant breaking, toleration of

all religions, corrupt sectarian ways, for which the Lord hath broken them.

VI.—We are represented to his majesty as such who would not consent that the Remonstrance of the western forces should be condemned by the Commission of the General Assembly : whereas, (1.) We did humbly desire, that the judicature would not condemn nor censure that Remonstrance, till the gentlemen were heard, and their reasons discussed. (2.) Whatever demur was as to the banding or combining part of it, we were, and are obliged to believe, they had no sectarian design therein, nor levelling intention. (3.) They are gentlemen most loyal, and never were enemies to his majesty's royal power ; but only desired that security might be had for religion, and the people of God ; persons disaffected to religion, and the sworn covenant abandoned : otherwise they were, and still are, willing to hazard lives and estates, for the just greatness and safety of his majesty, in the maintenance of the true religion, covenant and cause of God.—The only difficulty will be, where to have fit men to send. But, as it will be both sin and shame for us, to desert our un-

deservedly now censured brethren ; so it will be our sin and reproach, sinfully to comply with such things and courses, as we testified against, and confessed to God.

St Andrew's, 1660."

Such being the ground on which the protesters meant to proceed, a small portion of that body, amounting to twelve, convened in Edinburgh to carry their loyal and constitutional design into execution. The Committee of Estates assembled the same day ; and on hearing of this ecclesiastical meeting, ordered their papers, which they most unwarrantably pronounced to be treasonable, to be seized,—and all who had been engaged in framing them to be cast into prison ; an order which was immediately carried into effect.

While these individuals were in confinement, a draught of a petition to the Committee of Estates, drawn out in their names, was submitted to Rutherford for his opinion. He entirely disapproved of it for many reasons, but chiefly because it was not founded on that adherence to the covenant, of which he never lost sight. This petition was afterwards presented to the committee,

but how far modified by Rutherford's suggestions, I have not learned. But it was not productive of any advantage, as it was not characterised by that dereliction of principle which that body required of them. With the exception of Guthrie, who was released, only to be brought to the scaffold as a martyr, they were all soon after set at liberty, and on giving bail, were permitted to reside in their own houses *.

The insults thus shewn to some of the supporters of Presbytery, were but a prelude to the most illegal procedure in regard to that polity itself. The Scottish parliament convened on the 1st of January 1661; and under royal influence, its members indulging in every species of intemperance and debauchery, some of them even appearing in their place in that high court in a state of intoxication, invested the king with arbitrary power, recalled the covenant, and abolished presbytery. Every constitutional barrier was destroyed. And by one deed, termed the *act rescissory*, all the parliaments

* Rutherford, about a month before his own death, wrote a very interesting and striking letter to Guthrie, who then expected nothing but martyrdom; for which see *Letters*, Part III. § 67.

that, since 1638, had given their sanction to the Presbyterian system, or to the Solemn League and Covenant, were annulled, and every article of their procedure, though sanctioned by his late Majesty, declared illegal, and erased from the statute book. The most elementary principles of civil polity were violated; for if one parliament can summarily annul another, or any number of former legislatures, which have been founded on royal authority, all security in government, and all confidence in the sovereign, are subverted and destroyed.

Rutherford, under such circumstances, could not expect to remain unmolested, particularly because the party whose cause he had so warmly supported was so extremely obnoxious to government, and because Sharp, who was his personal enemy, was now invested with such power and influence*. Nor, indeed, had he continued unmolested till this date. To his crime of being a pro-

* "Sharp," says Wodrow, "had a particular quarrel with Messrs. Rutherford and Guthrie." (*History of the Church*, I. 76. 8vo. edit. now publishing.) A proclamation against the Protesters was issued in Sep. 1660. (*Ib. ib.*) This excellent work contains a very ample account of the proceedings to which our present narrative refers.

tester, was added that of being author of “*Lex Rex* ;” a work which, however objectionable it had at first been, was now infinitely more offensive in these days of servility and passive obedience. The Committee of Estates had brought the subject before them ; and on the 15th of September 1660, issued a proclamation against this book, as “*inveighing against monarchie, and laying ground for rebellion ;*” and declared that every person, having a copy of it in his possession, who did not deliver it to his Majesty’s solicitor, previously to the 16th of the ensuing month, should be regarded and treated as an enemy to the king *. Copies seem to have poured in from every quarter. A number of them were, on the day just specified, publicly burned at Edinburgh, by the hand of the common hangman ; and seven days afterwards, the book underwent a similar fate at the gate of the college, of which the author was professor of divinity. It was also treated with similar indignity at London †.

* *Lamont’s Chronicle*, 159. The proclamation in question is given in Wodrow, (*Ib. ib.*) It contains also the denunciation of another work, “*The causes of God’s Wrath*,” published anonymously, but written by Guthrie.

† *Lamont’s Chronicle*, 159.

Nor did the vengeance of government terminate here. He was deprived of his situation as a member of the university, and of his charge in the church; his stipend was confiscated; himself ordered to be confined to his own house; and cited to appear before the ensuing parliament on a charge of treason*.

What would have been his fate, had he been able to obey the summons, it requires no superior sagacity to conjecture. But from the state of his health, he was prevented from bearing that public testimony to the truth which he often expressed himself ready, nay, happy to do. He was not yet advanced in years; but his constitution seems never to have been vigorous, and for a considerable time, had been gradually sinking into decay. Several years before this date, he spoke of having "warnings of his removal †," and of his "craziness of body,"

* *Ib. ib.* Andrew Cant, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, having "preached against Rutherford's hard usage, was accused before the magistrates of treason. He demitted his charge, and came to his son at Libberton, where both live very quietly." (*Baillie's Letters*, II. 446.) Being old, he was treated "courteously," and was not farther disturbed. He died in 1663, at the advanced age of 79. (*Ib. ib.* *Monumental inscription in the church-yard of Aberdeen.*)

† *Letters*, Part II. § 64.

insomuch that he could not get his “sickly clay carried about from one house or town to another *.” “Though,” to use his own words of a more recent date, “though I was lately knocking at death’s gate, yet could I not get in, but was sent back for a time †.” Of the nature of his complaints we have no account, except that, in one of his letters, he speaks of a “daily menacing” disease ‡, to which literary men are liable, and which, it is probable, contributed to shorten his days. He appears to have been “unable,” for some time before his death, “to overtake the professional duties which the Lord had laid upon him || ;” and after struggling with debility and bad health for several years, his complaints had now assumed so serious an aspect, that he was incapable of obeying the citation served upon him to appear before parliament ; and it was evident to himself and to his friends, that his death could not be far distant §.

* *Letters*, Part II. § 67.

† *Ib.* § 69.

‡ Gravel. (*Ib.* Part III. § 59.)

|| *Ib.* *ib.* § 60.

§ The circumstances of the times have been represented as hastening his death. “The care of all the churches,” says M^r Ward, in a letter to Rutherford’s daughter, “especially the church of Scotland, lay so heavy on that great man of God, your precious father, that it sunk him into his grave, as not able to outlive the depart-

The near approach of this event he surveyed with that Christian fortitude, or rather longing desire, which his previous history must have induced the reader to expect. But while his strength remained, he did not leave undone any duty which the world or his family had a right to require of him. On the 28th of February, three weeks before his dissolution, he emitted a Testimony, expressive of his sentiments on the ecclesiastical state of Scotland at that period, embracing all the points that had so long been matter of dispute,—and on the connexion which in his opinion the Scriptures allow between the church and the civil government. This Testimony has been printed *. It is distinguished in general by candid and liberal principles, and con-

ing of the glory which he saw was in a great measure departed." (Wodrow's MSS. Jac. 5. l. II. Art. 79.)

* It is entitled "A Testimony left by Mr Samuel Rutherford, to the work of Reformation in Great Britain and Ireland, before his death." It occupies ten 8vo pages. When it was first printed I have not learned, but two copies of it lie now before me,—one printed in 1739,—the other in 1784. To both are appended an account of his last sickness and death. I meant to give these in the Appendix, but the size to which this volume has swelled does not admit of this.

He regarded such a Testimony as an act of justice, both to himself and to the cause which he had supported. He alludes to this subject in a letter to Mr Gillespie, when the latter was on his death-bed; and to Mr Guthrie of Stirling, when under confinement. (*Letters*, Part II. § 55.—Part III. § 67.)

tains an open and intrepid avowal of his sentiments at a time when such an avowal was accompanied with danger. The following extract it would be injustice to suppress.

“ Since we are very shortly to appear before our dreadful Master and Sovereign, we cannot pass from our protestation, trusting we are therein accepted of him;—though we should ly under the imputation of dividing spirits, and unpeaceable men. We acknowledge all due obedience in the Lord to the King’s Majesty; but we disown that ecclesiastic supremacy in and over the church, which some ascribe to him; that power of commanding external worship not appointed in the Word; and laying bonds upon the consciences of men, where Christ has made them free. We disown antichristian prelacy, bowing at the name of Jesus, saints days, canonizing of the dead, and other such corrupt inventions of men, and look on them as the high way to Popery.”

Not only, however, did he think it incumbent on him to leave behind him this Testimony, but there was also another duty which he regarded himself called on to dis-

charge. On the 8th of March, within less than a fortnight of his death, he subscribed his last will and testament, and arranged his worldly affairs in the most judicious manner, for the benefit of those who were to survive him *.

Having completed these arrangements, he devoted himself exclusively to a preparation for that event which he saw was fast approaching. Indeed, during the whole of his last illness, or rather during the whole of his life, he may be looked upon as employed in making that preparation. "He had held fast the profession of his faith without wavering," and he now looked forward, under divine grace, to finish his course with joy. Under the influence of such feelings, there was a rapture and an elevation of piety exhibited by him in his last moments, which it is not in the power of this world either to give or take away. "I shall shine," he said; "I shall see him as he is: I shall see him reign, and all his fair company with him, and I shall have my share. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer, these very eyes of mine, and

* This will is printed in the Appendix, Note H.

none for me." "I disclaim," he remarked, "all that ever God made me will or do, and I look on it as defiled or imperfect as coming from me: but Christ is to me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." Referring to the schisms that had of late rent the church, he observed, "Those whom ye call Protesters, are the witnesses of Jesus Christ. I hope never to depart from that cause, nor side with those of the opposite party*. They have broken their covenant oftner than once or twice; but I believe the Lord will build Zion, and repair the waste places of Jacob. Oh! to obtain mercy to wrestle with God for their salvation."

Being visited by several members of the presbytery, he expressed similar sentiments. He said to them, "My Lord is the chief of ten thousand: none is comparable to him in heaven or in earth. Dear brethren, do all for

* He also expressed similar sentiments in his Testimony. He felt so keenly on this subject, that he has been known to introduce it into his addresses to the Deity. "In his prayer after sermon," says Lamont, "Mr Samuel Rutherford desired that the Lord would rebuke presbyteries and others that had taken the keys and power in their hand, and kept out and wold suffer none to enter, (meaning in the ministrie,) bot such as said as they said." (*Chronicle*, 82, *apud annum* 1654.)

him. Pray for Christ; preach for Christ; feed the flock committed to your charge for Christ: do all for Christ; beware of men-pleasing; there is too much of it." "Tell my brethren of the presbytery," he also remarked, "that all the personal griefs and wrongs they have done to me, I do cordially and freely forgive them, as I desire my Lord to forgive me. The New College has broken my heart, but I have left it upon the Lord. My soul desires the Lord to dwell in that society, and that himself may feed the youths."

He was also visited at different times by his two colleagues *, Blair and Honey-

* It is not mentioned that James Wood saw him on his death-bed, but Rutherford sent him this message by Honeyman: "Tell him I heartily forgive him all wrongs he had done me, and desire him from me to declare himself the man that he is, still for the government of the church of Scotland." (*Account of his sickness and death.*) The only difference between Wood and Rutherford, it may be mentioned, was connected with the public resolutions. (*Ib. ib.*) The subject of these memoirs had, otherwise, a great regard for him as a good man, nor was he deceived of him. Wood, soon after this date, suffered persecution in consequence of his adherence to presbytery, at the hands of Sharp, with whom before he had lived in terms of great friendship and affection. He was deprived of his offices in the church and university. He left a Testimony at his death, similar to that of which Rutherford was the author. He wrote several papers respecting the public resolutions; and he was the author of a book against Independency, published in 1654 in 8vo, entitled "A Little Stone pretended to be out of the mountain, tried and found to be counterfeit, or an examination of Mr Lockyer's Lecture, preached at Edinburgh, anno 1651, concerning the matter of the visible church, and afterwards printed with an Appendix for popular government of single

man *, and by Colville, who afterwards succeeded him as principal of the New College †. The strain of his conversation with them was of the same spiritual description. He exhorted them in the tenderest terms to “appear for God, and his cause and covenant.” The success of what he regarded as the truth, seems to have occupied much of his thoughts. He cherished the hope that Christ would dwell among them ; that the youths would be fed with sound knowledge ; and that vice and profaneness would disappear. “ Full assurance of faith,” and “ good hope through grace,” characterized him in his

congregations.” (Baillie's *Letters*, II. *passim*: Livingstone's *Characteristics*; M'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch*, 492—4. *Scotch Worthies*, 182.)

* Blair was deprived of his charge within a little more than a year after Rutherford's death. He retired to Aberdour, where he died in 1666. (Vide his *Life*, written by himself.)

Honeyman was a man of a different character. He complied with episcopacy. He was successively Archdean of St Andrew's, and Bishop of Orkney. He was so unpopular, that an attempt was made to assassinate him by a pistol shot, while in Archbishop Sharp's coach in Edinburgh. He was the author of two works, one of them against his former faith,—“ A Survey of the insolent and infamous Libel, entitled Naphthali,” in two parts, Edin. 1668, 4to. This treatise received a Reply from Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, in a work entitled, “ Jus Populi Vindicatum ; or the people's right to defend themselves, and the covenanted religion vindicated, being a Reply to the first part of the Survey of Naphthali,” 1669. Honeyman's other work was “ Bourignonism displayed ; or a discovery of several gross errors maintained by Antonia Bourignon.”—He died in 1676. (Keith's *Catalogue*, 136. Lamont's *Chronicle*, 195. 258.)

* Colville also complied with episcopacy,—and was raised on Rutherford's death to the principality. He died in 1666, (Lamont's *Chronicle*, 232.)

last moments. The progress of his disease, we are not told; nor whether he endured much pain or suffering; but on the 20th of March 1661, after he had lived to see his favourite polity annulled, and his friends exposed to persecution and to death, he breathed his last under the influence of that religion, by the love and cultivation of which his whole life had been eminently distinguished. His last words were, "Glory, glory dwelleth in Emmanuel's land *."

* *Livingstone's Characteristics.* The source whence the narrative in the text has been obtained, is *the account of his last words* appended to his Testimony. It is anonymous; but it accords with the account given by Livingstone, who was his friend and contemporary. And it has received the sanction of succeeding writers, such as Fleming, the author of *The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*; Crookshanks, author of *The History of the Church of Scotland*; and other authors. We therefore regard it as sufficiently authentic.

The 29th of March has sometimes been assigned as the date of his death. But the inscription on his tomb-stone, which we have followed in the text, is unexceptionable authority. He was interred in the usual place of burial at St Andrew's; and the following simple inscription marks his tomb; "M. S. R. Here lyes the Reverend Mr Samuel Rutherford, professor of divinity in the university of St Andrew's, who died March the 20th 1661.

"What tongue, what pen, or skill of men,
Can famous Rutherford commend!
His learning justly rais'd his fame;
True greatness did adorn his name.
He did converse with things above;
Acquainted with Immanuel's love.
Most orthodox he was and sound,
And many errors did confound.
For Zion's king, and Zion's cause,
And Scotland's covenanted laws,
Most constantly he did contend,
Until his time was at an end.
At last he wan to full fruition,
Of that which he had seen in vision."

Such was the life, and such the death, of Samuel Rutherford:—a man, to whom, whether we think on his talents and learning, or the important objects to the advancement of which these were devoted, or on his candour and intrepidity in the support of what he looked upon as of divine authority, or on the amiable feelings and qualities of his heart as displayed both in public and private life,—we cannot but assign a conspicuous place among those who have been an honour to our church, and to whom the cause of presbytery has been laid under the deepest obligations.

Rutherford left behind him a widow, with one child, a daughter, named Agnes, then eleven years of age. Of some of the domestic bereavements he was doomed to suffer, the reader has already been informed. While at London, he lost two children, being at that time the last of his family; and of three which were afterwards born to him, one only survived him. Of seven children which his second marriage produced, it was his melancholy lot to see six laid in an untimely grave*.

* The last of them died only a few weeks before his own death.

Mrs Rutherford, on her husband's death, fixed on Edinburgh as her place of residence*. In what circumstances, as to pecuniary matters, she was left, the most minute information is afforded us in his latter will. His whole property at the time of his death, amounted to L. 2,923 : 13 : 4, Scots money, or about L. 243 Sterling † : a sum barely sufficient for her support ; but either at this time, or soon afterwards, she obtained some property in the parish of Covington, the revenue of which formed a considerable addition to her income ‡.

She appears to have been distinguished

Lamont's *Chronicle*, 167.) Mrs Rutherford is stated to have sent on the 25th January 1644, "a dollar for last bairn's funeral alms." (*Session Records of St Andrew's*.)

* We have stated, (p. 191. of this work,) that nothing was known of Mrs Rutherford previously to her marriage. But there is, we think, reason to believe, that she was a daughter of M' Math, a merchant in Edinburgh, who had a daughter married to William Dick of Grange. (1b.) The marriage took place in Edinburgh ; a proof that that city was her place of residence ; and she returns to it, on becoming a widow.

† Of this property, his books were estimated at £. 1800 Scots ; while "the utenceills of his hous, with the abruilzeaments of his bodie," amounted to only £. 200 ; a fact highly honourable to his literary and professional character. The rest of the property consisted of sums due him in his capacity of principal and clergyman. These books, of which a part are in the library of the university of St Andrew's, were of the most valuable kind, most of them being of the best editions that had then appeared. (App. Note H.)

‡ P. 191. of this work. Agnes Rutherford succeeded her mother in that property, (*Inq. Retor. Special*. 382.) She had previously succeeded to somelands as heiress to her aunt, Agnes M' Math, (*Inq. Ret. General*. 6333.) Her husband afterwards was designed of Cockburn or Cobborne, the name of these lands.

by great worth, and to have possessed a character not dissimilar to that of her pious husband. “It is true,” to use the words of Mr M^cWard, in a letter addressed to her daughter, “It is true, you are deprived of the great advantage of a father’s example, before you could make much observation of his walk; but God hath been gracious to you in sparing a mother of the same spirit and walk with him, and whose experience also, I know to be beyond the experience of any I know *.”

“The thing that in my observation,” says the same writer in another letter, “made that happy couple eminent beyond others in all holy conversation and godliness, was, that they were much taken up in studying the knowledge of God and of themselves; and as if every new degree of the knowledge of either they attained had been but a further discovery of their ignorance, so did they carry. He who had heard either of them pray or speak, might have learned of them how to bemoan their own ignorance, and yet have perceived their understanding in

* Wodrow’s MSS. LVIII. Art. 76.

these mysteries by their manner of lamenting their ignorance *."

The following extract from the same letter, is too important not to be submitted to the reader. "The ebbings and flowings of their joy and sorrow were according as it went well with his public work. Never knew I any among men exceed him, nor any among women exceed her. What he suffered from enemies, and what he suffered at the hands of friends, and the sorrows he had for being withheld from sealing all with his blood, as thinking it too little to do; * * so her encouraging him under all that befel him to stand and withstand, and her weeping to this day, (on account of the insolent attempts of the adversaries upon the one hand, and the unworthy railings, staggerings, and declinings of faithful witnesses bearing against the wrongs done to Jesus Christ on the other hand,) and her wrestling with God for the recovery of his work, are so notorious to you, that I need say nothing."

The reader is already acquainted with

* Wodrow's *MSS. ut supra*, art. 77.

the great intimacy that continued to obtain between Lady Kenmure and Rutherford, till the death of the latter. That intimacy, on his death, was extended to his widow. "Madam," says M'Ward, in a letter to her Ladyship, "Mrs Rutherford gives me often an account of the singular testimony which she meets with of your Ladyship's affection to her and her daughter. If I could, (though I had never had these personal obligations to your Ladyship which I have, and under which I must die undischarged,) I look upon myself as obliged upon this account, to pray that God may remember and reward your labour shewn to the dead, and continued to the living *."

Mrs Rutherford survived her husband upwards of fourteen years, and died in the month of May 1675 †. But before that event, she had seen her daughter, who married William Chiesly, writer to the signet, settled in life. The religious character of Mrs Chiesly, neither before her marriage nor after it, seems to have been altogether worthy of her descent. M'Ward, in his letters

* *Ib. ib. art. 52.*

† *Edinburgh Register of Burials.*

to her, addresses her in such terms as if he had been informed of her neglect of sacred things, or had suspected her of such neglect *. Nor was she married to a man more exemplary than herself in this respect. Chiesly, in truth, seems not to have been a man of respectable character. He was discovered to be guilty of "gross, exorbitant, and uninstructed" proceedings in a matter entrusted to his management ; and at length, evidently from such practices, he was degraded from his rank as a lawyer, and deprived of his privileges as a member of the College of Justice †. He died in the year 1704, at the age of seventy ‡. The date of his wife's death, I have not learned. Nor have I discovered the number of children that resulted from their union : but one of their family, (a daughter, named Jean, who had never been married,) died so late as the

* Appendix, Note I. Mrs Chiesly, however, never, it is evident, complied with episcopacy. She seems, on the contrary, to have remained true to the ecclesiastical principles of her father, and even to have been exposed to something like persecution for avowing them. "A strict and severe search is made through the town of Edinburgh for suspected persons, and sundry are apprehended, as all Mr William Chiesly's family, himself being from home, Robert Chiesly, his nephew, for not keeping the church." (*Fountainhall's Decisions*, I. 304.)

† *Fountainhall's Decisions*, I. 99. 223.

‡ *Edinburgh Register of Burials*.—For some account of the family of Chiesly, see Appendix, Note K.

year 1736 *,—seventy-five years after the death of her grandfather, the subject of these memoirs.

Of his character, we do not think it necessary to say much in addition to what has been stated in the course of our narrative. Our readers must already be well acquainted with it, so far as it can now be known. He was a man indefatigable in the discharge of every duty. In the clerical profession he took great delight, and distinguished himself by peculiar faithfulness and zeal in the performance of its sacred functions. He feared not the face of man in maintaining the ecclesiastical and theological principles of the church to which he belonged,—or in resisting and exposing error. He was willing to lay down his life as a testimony to the truth. He may, we confess, sometimes have shewn violence, and have pushed his principles to an objectionable extreme. But liberal allowances must be made for him in this respect. The age was one of faction and of controversy; and it was difficult, if not impossible, for any man, who took an active

* *Edinburgh Register of Burials.*

share in its proceedings, or who was animated with an energetic spirit, to keep free from the error to which we refer, or to display mildness and gentleness amid the storms and turbulence by which he was surrounded. And let it be remembered, that the part he acted in public affairs, whether marked by violence or not, he undertook solely on public grounds, and never made it subservient to his own aggrandizement. There seldom has lived an individual more devoid of personal ambition, or who seemed less anxious to avail himself of any places of honour, even when they were pressed on his acceptance.—Of his illiberality and want of toleration we have already spoken. We regret that such were his sentiments; and we have no apology or explanation to offer, except that such were the principles of his most enlightened contemporaries,—and of the church to which he belonged. A man is entitled to praise for outstripping his age; but should not be visited with censure, unless he fall behind it.

His friendship was warm and stedfast; a circumstance evident from his Letters, and from the fact, that the friends of his early

life, that were not removed from him by death, continued to be those of his advanced years. In his domestic relations, he is entitled to equal praise. Every time he appears before us in this interesting capacity, it is highly to his honour. But in nothing was he more remarkable, than for his assiduous cultivation of personal piety. He may be said to have lived near to God. Every principle of his heart, and every action of his life, he endeavoured to mould according to the divine standard; and of him it may be truly said, that he departed in peace, his eyes having seen the salvation of God.

Of his works we have already given some account. They are characterized by great dialectic subtlety, as that art was then understood, and evince an intimate acquaintance with the compositions of the early Christian Fathers, and of subsequent writers on theological and ecclesiastical subjects. They are, in truth, overloaded with such learning, insomuch that, however highly they may have been valued when they first appeared, now when the questions of which many of them treated no longer exist, and when the mode of ratiocination which then

prevailed, has been happily superseded, they can seldom be distinguished by a perusal. They are all, besides, more or less of a controversial nature, and were written, as polemical books generally are, to promote a particular object ; and when that had ceased to excite interest, they may reasonably be expected to have shared a similar fate. This, indeed, is the case with almost all the compositions of Rutherford ; for, with the exception of those on practical theology, editions of which still occasionally issue from the press, (though even these are not free from that polemical learning which the author delighted so much to indulge,) they have never been reprinted, and copies of them have now in consequence become scarce. They were written hastily, and in too rapid succession, to gain the rank of standard works. During the four years he resided in London, notwithstanding his bad health, and the multifarious and important nature of his duties as a member of the Westminster Assembly, he gave to the world not fewer than six dense quarto volumes. Nor in Scotland was his situation more favourable to close application to study. His avocations were too

numerous ; he was, in truth, too great a pluralist to become a successful author. Had he held only one of the two situations which he filled ; had he, for example, been merely professor of divinity, and had he devoted his leisure hours to the pursuit of his favourite studies, we have reason to believe, from his uncommon learning and talents, that he would have produced works which would have been an honour to our church, and would not have been allowed to perish.

As it was, however, his works possess a high place among the class of writings to which they belong. At the end of nearly two centuries, they are still known, and are not uninteresting ; and it is not too much to say, that they are superior to any of the polemical writings that belong to the same period. The *Exercitationes Apologeticae*, his first work, which was composed during his leisure hours, while he resided in the remote parish of Anwoth, is a production of great ability and erudition, inso-much that, though he had written nothing else, it would have entitled him to the remembrance of posterity.

But his best production is a posthumous

treatise, entitled, *Examen Arminianismi*, published at Utrecht in 1668, under the superintendence of the celebrated Nethenus, professor of divinity in the university of that city : an office which, it will be remembered, was pressed on the acceptance of Rutherford. On his death, his widow put the manuscript of this volume into the hands of Mr M^cWard, then minister of the Scotch church at Rotterdam. It was sent by M^cWard to Nethenus, who, on finding that the opinion of Essenius and Voetius, to whose critical judgment it had been submitted, agreed with his own, consented to undertake the responsibility of publishing it. John Livingstone, with whose name the reader is already acquainted, and who having been banished from Scotland, now resided at Rotterdam, had revised the manuscript while it was in M^cWard's possession ; and Nethenus commemorates, in terms of liberal praise, the assistance he derived from Robert Trail, (afterwards established as a dissenting clergyman in London, and the author of some valuable works,) who, with his father, one of the ministers of

Edinburgh, having also been banished, had taken refuge in Holland.

The substance of this work had formed the subject of part of his course of lectures in St Andrew's. But it had not been left in a state fit for publication; and it underwent accordingly considerable alterations and corrections. The editor, indeed, seems to have used great liberties with it, as, happening to get access to the notes of one of Rutherford's pupils, which contained an abstract of these lectures, he altered the text so as to embrace the substance of these notes, in many places where the former of these documents was regarded as being less full than the latter.

In a former part of this narrative, we stated that the *Disputatio Scholastica* was the only printed specimen we possessed of Rutherford's lectures. We did so inadvertently, as this posthumous work affords us another, and a more favourable specimen; though the observations we submitted regarding the one, are not inapplicable to the other. It is undoubtedly a production of vast learning and talent; but it deals so

much in the use of the logical jargon and scholastic niceties so common in these days, and is marked by such interminable subdivisions, and embraces such an endless variety of subsidiary discussions, that we are at a loss to conjecture how it could ever have been viewed as adapted to the purpose which it was meant to serve. We confess, however, we may be erecting a standard by which it would be improper to judge. The work cannot with propriety be regarded as entirely unsuitable to the times, or to the species of dialectic training to which students of theology were then subjected; for in this very light, it has obtained the praise of the learned editor, and of two distinguished professors of divinity, whose opinions were consulted respecting its character *. And a work must unquestionably be possessed of no ordinary degree of merit, and must do ample justice to the questions which it embraces, that can successfully go through the

* For the particulars mentioned in the text regarding this treatise, consult *Epistola Dedicatoria* (*D. Annae Mariae a Schurman*;) *Praefatio ad Lectorem*; *Judicium* of Voetius and Essenius; together with the letter of M^r Ward addressed to Nethenus, on transmitting him the manuscript; all which are prefixed to the work to which they refer.

ordeal, to which, as a condition of its publication, the *Examen Arminianismi* was subjected *.

* A list of Rutherford's works may be found in the Appendix, Note L.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. Page 17.

THE University of Edinburgh, though, when Rutherford became a regent in it, it had been instituted only about 40 years, (the royal charter bearing the date of April 1582,) had attained to eminence, and could boast of having had the names of some of the first scholars in the country in the list of its professors. The name of Robert Rollock must here occur to every scholar. He was the first, and for a month, the only professor. But finding at the end of that time, "diverse of the students not ripe enough of the Latine tongue," these were put, on his recommendation, "under the charge of Mr Duncan Nairne, a larned and pious young man," who thus became the second master of the college, (Crawfurd's *Hist. of the Univ. of Edin.* 23.) Nairne, it may be mentioned, who had studied under Andrew Melville in the university of Glasgow, "deceased with great regrate" in the beginning of the year 1586, little more than two years after his appointment, (*Life of Melville*, I. 76. *Crawfurd*, 30.) Rollock was the first principal, being elected to that office in 1586, —and when his class graduated in the following year, he was removed from the regency of philosophy, and appointed professor of divinity. These two offices were disjoined in 1620, though the principal

has always held the title of *primarius* professor of divinity. (Crawfurd, 90. Bower's *Hist.* I. 103.) Rollock died at the premature age of 44, in the month of February 1599; and so much was this event lamented, that to the interesting life of him, published by his colleague George Robertson, are appended twenty-eight elegies written in Greek and Latin verse, by no fewer than nineteen scholars, by Sir Thomas Craig, Robert Pont, Henry Charters, John Adamson, John Ray, Adrian Damman, and others of nearly equal celebrity. Rollock was son to the laird of Powhouse, descended of the house of Duncruib, now ennobled under the title of Lord Rollo. He had been a regent in the college of St Salvator in St Andrew's, (where he had studied under Andrew Melville,) ere he came to Edinburgh. He married Helen Baron, daughter to the laird of Kinnaird, by whom he had a posthumous child, afterwards married to Robert Balcanqual, minister of Tranent, son to Walter Balcanqual of Edinburgh. (Crawfurd, 50—1.) Rollock was the author of many works of great merit and learning, a list of which may be found in the memoir of Robertson. They were speedily reprinted on the continent, and have been honoured with liberal praise by scholars of various sentiments. * * *Illos honorandi summè fratris D. Rolloci tum in Epistolam ad Ephesios utramque inter Apostolicas omnes Epistolas celebratissimam Commentarios. Sic enim ego quidem de iis apud me statuo (quod absque ulla specie adulationis dictum velim) nihil adhuc legisse me in hoc interpretationis genere brevius simul, et tam elegantius tum judicious scriptum.* * * (Beza, Letter to John Johnston of St Andrew's, prefixed to Rollock's work, *Tractatus de Vocatione Efficaci*, Edin. 1597.) See also Quenstedt *De patriis Illustrium Virorum*; Spottiswood's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, 455. *Life of Melville*, II. 308.

Robertson's Life of Rollock, published the same

year in which the subject of it died, is entitled, *Vitae and Mortis D. Roberti Rolloci Scoti Narratio. Scripta per Georgium Robertsonum. Adjectis in eundem quorundam Epitaphiis. Edinburgi, apud Henricum Charteris, 1599. C. in eights.* Robertson, a native of Edinburgh, graduated in the college of his native city in 1588; and was elected a regent of philosophy in 1593, (*Craw. 37.*) He was the first that printed the *Theses Philosophicae*, of which we have already spoken, and which were afterwards printed annually. (*Ib. 38.*) Robertson's Thesis is entitled, *Theses Philosophicae, quarum patrocinium suscepere adolescentes laureae candidati, easdem propugnaturi, Aug. die 2, in aede sacra regii collegii, praeside G. R. sub horam 8 matutinam, Edin. H. Charteris, 1596.* Robertson was elected a minister of the city in 1598, an appointment which he did not long survive. There seems to have existed an intimate friendship between Rollock and him. *Pensitabam etiam quam innumeris vinculis adamantinis me cum aliis sibi devinxerit, ut non sine nefario scelere tantum virum taciturnitate operire me posse putem, (Narratio.)*

So great was the respect which the patrons of the university, (in common with the public,) entertained for Rollock's character, that on his death-bed they requested him to recommend a fit person to succeed him. He recommended his colleague, Henry Charters; who was accordingly appointed, and who sustained the fame which the college had acquired under his predecessor. "*Domi virum locupletatum donis,*" says Rollock to the magistrates, "*ac ad munus instructum habetis Henricum Charterisium, qui eruditionem, me preceptore, uberrime hausit, professorisque philosophici munus decennio egregia laude perfunctus est. Hunc vos in Academiae puppi sistite, ejusque clavo apponite, deum illi propitium ejusque labores beantem conspicietis.*" (*Vitae et mortis Rolloci Narratio.*) Charters, as is evident from this ex-

tract, had been a regent of philosophy for ten years previously to the death of Rollock. He was son of the famous printer of that name. In 1620, he accepted an invitation to be minister of North Leith; in which charge he continued till 1627, when he was again elected to fill the chair of divinity; the principality having, in 1620, when he resigned, been disjoined from that office. He was thrice married; and dying in 1629, left behind him a large family, of whom four were clergymen, one of them, (Laurence,) being afterwards professor of divinity. (*Craw.* 34. 113—4.) He was the author of a Life of Rollock, in Latin, which, having never been published, is preserved in *MS.* in the library of the university. Three elegies written by him on the death of his predecessor, one of them in Greek, are to be found in the Appendix to Robertson's work. And in *The Muses' Welcome*, are two poems by him, one in Latin, the other in Greek. Charters was a very modest, as well as a learned man. His diffidence, indeed, was such, that in the disputation which the regents of the seminary over which he presided, held before the king in Stirling in 1617, he declined presiding, and prevailed on John Adamson, then minister of Liberton, and afterwards principal, to officiate in his stead. In reference to his modesty, the king said of him, "His name agreeth very well to his nature; for *charters* contain much matter, yet say nothing, but put great purposes in men's mouths." (*Ib.* 82. 86. *The Muses' Welcome*, 221.

Charters was succeeded by Patrick Sands, who, "having given small satisfaction in the government of the college, resigned his office at the end of two years;" when the celebrated Robert Boyd of Trochrig was elevated to the principality. Boyd, who had studied at the university of Edinburgh under Sands, (who had held the office of one of the regents so early as 1589,) and had laureated in 1595,

had been successively professor of divinity in the college of Saumur, and principal of the university of Glasgow, occupied this rank in Edinburgh only for one year, in consequence of his non-conformity to episcopacy. James VI. when in Scotland in 1617, having visited Glasgow, Boyd, then principal of the college, addressed to him a Latin prose oration, and wrote a long encomiastic Latin poem, (*The Muses' Welcome*, 240 *et seqq.*) Two poems, composed by him, may be found in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scottorum*, and in the *Delectus* of Lauder. "He did both write and speak Latin very fluently. I have heard him say, if he had his choice of a language, wherein to deliver his mind, it would be the Greek." (Livingstone's *Characteristics*.) A posthumous work, with the life of the author by the celebrated Andrew Rivet, was published in 1562; *Bodii in Epist. Pauli Apost. ad Ephes. Praelect.* Lond. fol. pp. 1236. See also Borrichii *Dissertationes Acad. de Poetis*, 150.

Sands, it may here be stated, was not a clergyman, but a lawyer, having resigned his regency, and become a member of the bar. Not succeeding in his new capacity, his friends got him thrust into the principality: and it was on this occasion, that the chair of divinity was disjoined from the office with which it had previously been united.—(Bower's *Hist. of the Univ.* I. 141. *Craw.* 82. 90.)

Andrew Ramsay, (son to David Ramsay of Balmain,) one of the ministers of the city, and professor of divinity during the seven years that Charters was settled in Leith, was an elegant scholar, and has been made the subject of praise, both by his countrymen and by foreigners. His *Poemata Sacra* were first published in 1633: they afterwards found a place in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scottorum*,—and in the *Delectus* of Lauder. To the *Poemata Sacra*, are appended *Miscellanea et Epigrammata Sacra*; which are composed chiefly of elegies, or of verses addressed to living characters; and which gives us an equally

high opinion of the genius, benevolence, and piety of the author.—Johnston's epigram *De Poemate Sacro Andreae Ramsaei*, concludes with these lines.

Ramsaeus scopulum prudens declinat utrumque,

Dignaque dat Musis carmina, digna Deo.

Hic juga Parnassi coeunt cum rupe Zionis

Mixtaque Jordani Castalis unda fluit.—Del.

Poet. Scot. l. 617.

Lauder regards him as the first of modern poets, (*Delectus Auct. Sacr. Miltono Facem Praelucentium*, Lond. 1782. 2 vols. 8vo.) The following is the opinion of a foreigner. *Andreae Ramsaei epica De Creatione Rerum, De Felicitate Hominis in primigenia integritate, De Lapsu Protoplastae et omnium in eo posterorum, De Generis humani per Christum Reparatione, sacro calore ignescunt: nec succo destituuntur poetico.* * * (*Olai Borrichii Dissert. Acad. de Poetis*, 155. Franc. 1683.) Borrichius mentions no fewer than thirty-two Scottish Latin poets, in addition to Ramsay, among whom are Hercules Rollock, brother to the principal (whose verses occupy a respectable place in that repository of Scottish Latin Poetry, the *Del. Poet. Scotorum*), and Robert Boyd of Trochrig.—*Musae in Britanniam transgressae plus lucis attulere genti perspicacissimae cantu suo quam cladis Julius Caesar tot legionibus*, (*Borrichii Dissert. Acad.* 148.) For a few farther particulars respecting Ramsay, see pp. 22—5. of this work.

John Adamson, a name known to every scholar, succeeded Boyd in 1623, as principal of the university. He was a native of Perth; and having studied at the college of Edinburgh, was elected in 1568 a regent of philosophy there; in this situation he continued till 1604, when he became minister of North Berwick. He was afterwards minister of Liberton; after which he was raised to the dignity of principal. He died in 1653, and was succeeded by the celebrated Archbishop Leighton.

(*Craw.* 42. 63, 97.) He was a man of learning and talents; the intimate friend of Drummond of Hawthornden, of Melville, of John Dunbar, who addressed to him one of his epigrams, (*Dunbari Epigrammata*, 72. Lon. 1616,) and of the most eminent men of that age. He was introduced as principal in the college of Edinburgh, with the express sanction and approbation of Archbishop Spottiswood; (*Records of Town-Council of Edin.* 21st Nov. 1623 :) and yet he moulded his principles so as to retain that office on the downfall of episcopacy, till his death. He was the author of several works, (Watt's *Bibliotheca*) of which *The Muses' Welcome*, (Edin. 1618. fol.) is now the best known. This production consists of a collection of orations and poems, written on the occasion of the visit of James VI. to Scotland in 1617. Prefixed to it are three poems by the editor, in English, Latin, and Greek, respectively. A poem written by him may be found in the *Eklogia Musarum Edin. in Caroli Regis ingressu in Scotiam*, (Edin. 1633.) and encomiastic verses by him, with similar contributions from Rutherford, and other scholars, are prefixed to Row's Hebrew Grammar, (Glas. 1644.) In 1651, when in his seventy-fifth year, he edited a posthumous work, (*Fermæi analysis logica epist. ad Rom.*) written by Charles Ferme, under whom he had studied at the college, and prefixed to it a life of the author. He also composed elegant stanzas on the death of Ferme, as he had done on that of Rollock.

Ferme, (who was a native of Edinburgh, "being of obscure parentage, but exceedingly pious, industrious, and learned,") had studied under Rollock, and had had for his class-fellows, Charters, and Sands, who were both afterwards successively principals of the college. He was originally chosen regent in the university in which he had studied; and was afterwards elected principal of the new college at Frazerburgh. He died in 1617, having

no successor in the college, as amid the distractions of the time, it seems to have been allowed to fall into decay, (*Craw. 33.—Life of Melville, II. 284—7.*)

The only other persons connected with this university, deserving of notice, were Sir Adrian Damman of Bistervel, Adam Newton, and John Ray. The first, who was born near Ghent, having come to Scotland in the retinue, it is supposed, of the queen of James VI. was appointed professor of humanity in the new university. He was also Resident of the States General at the Scottish court; but having removed to the continent in 1597, he resigned both offices. He published a work entitled, *Schediasmata Hadr. Dammanis a Bisterveld Gandavenses*, (Edin. Robertus Waldegrave, 1590,) containing poems, one of them in Greek, the rest in Latin, on the king's marriage and coronation, with the attendant solemnities. (*Life of Melville, I. 486. Crawford, 55.*) Prefixed to the work are encomiastic verses by Melville, in Latin, and by Robert Pont in Greek. Adam Newton, professor of humanity for four years previously to 1594, as already stated, is supposed to have been author of the Latin version of Father Paul's History of Trent, (*Melanges Historiques, 27.*) He was created a Baronet. John Ray, a native of Angus-shire, was Damman's successor, and in 1606 was translated to the High School, where he continued till his death in 1630. He wrote Latin verses on the death of Rollock, to which, in Robertson's work, is affixed these words: *Praeceptoris Manibus moestus parentavit discip. Joannis Raius.* Verses written by him are to be found in *The Muses' Welcome*; and from encomiastic verses prefixed to Zachary Boyd's *Last Battell of the Soul*, Edin. Andrew Hart, 1619,) it appears that he was an intimate friend of that celebrated person. He was also the author of a selection of Cicero's Letters, (Hart. 1618,) and of the Disticks on Morals of Dionysius Cato. (Hart. 1620.)

NOTE B. Page 21.

The following extract is from *The Registers of Births of the City of Edinburgh*, “1626, April 14th. Maister Samuel Rutherfoorde, Euphame Hamilton, a d. n. [daughter named,] Marie, W. [Witnesses,] M. Andrew Stevinson, David Gourlay, John Skein, Andrew Balfour.”

The child, in this instance, is not said to have been born in illegitimacy, as is invariably the case when the parents were not married. This affords a presumption in favour of Rutherford's innocence. It is besides said, that he was married at least four months before this note, (*Craw.* as quoted in the text); indeed, it is probable, from the case never having afterwards excited any discussion, that the marriage had taken place at a due distance of time before this period. Andrew Stevenson would not otherwise, it is probable, have attended the baptism, or continued to shew Rutherford any friendship or countenance.

NOTE C. Page 59.

This poem, which extends to 176 hexameter lines, is entitled, *In Joannem Gordonum Kenmurii Vicecomitem ex corporeo hoc ergastulo in sedes beatorum demigrantem Apotheosis*. As it has hitherto continued in manuscript, and has been accessible but to few, I meant to give it a place in the Appendix: but the unfinished state of the composition forbids this. The copy which I have seen, and the perusal of which I owe to the kindness of Dr Lee, is the original, and is in the author's hand-writing. It seems, indeed, to have been the first rough sketch; and I believe it was never afterwards improved. It

is often obscure or unintelligible in point of meaning, and frequently deficient in versification; and sometimes words are used, so far as they can now be decyphered, that are not classical. The draft is marked by interlineations, erasures, marginal supplemental lines, and remains altogether in such a state of imperfection, that it would be an act of injustice to the character of the author to submit it to the reader.

The following encomiastic lines, written by him on another occasion, may be found, with the similar contributions of Principal Adamson and other writers, prefixed to Row's Hebrew Grammar, published at Glasgow in 1644.

Verba Sionae gentis submersa tenebris

Cimmeriis mendax Kimchius ore crepat.

Quae vos Rabbini sinuosa aenigmata vultis,

Nunc facilem linguam dicite, quaeso, sacram.

Falleris Hippocrates; male parcae stamina vitae,

Curta vocas, artem vociferare *μακρὰν*.

Sit cita mors, rapido sit et hora fugacior Euro,

Bellerophontaeis vita volato rotis;

Rovaei Hebraeis sit mors male grata Camoenis.

Haec relege, ast artem dixeris esse brevem.

NOTE D. Page 75.

Usher is said to have come to Anwoth on a Saturday,—on the evening of which day Rutherford was in the habit of catechising his family on religious subjects. The stranger is reported to have been asked, how many commandments there are?—to which he answered, eleven: and on being reminded that there are only ten, he quoted, in corroboration of his reply, the words of our Saviour, “a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.” The ability of these answers sur-

prized Rutherford; but nothing that night took place in consequence.

On the following morning the stranger was recognized. Being overheard by his host, (in a thicket adjoining to a walk much frequented by the latter, and which still bears his name,) engaged in prayer, couched in language of uncommon felicity, and containing allusions to the people under his spiritual care, Rutherford soon afterwards took an opportunity of stating his suspicion as to the character of his guest. Usher confessed the truth, and explained the circumstance on the ground that, being anxious to see a man of whom he had heard so much and thought so highly, and suspecting that he might not be willing to receive the visit of a bishop, if he knew him to be such, he had been induced to assume a disguise to accomplish his object. Rutherford welcomed him with great cordiality, as a man equally venerable for learning and piety. He requested him to preach to his people, as it was Sunday; which Usher readily consented to do, adopting the Presbyterian form of worship, and laying aside for a time the episcopal ceremonies. His text was the "new commandment" of our Lord, mentioned above.

NOTE E. Page 85.

Thomas Sydserff, afterwards successively bishop of Brechin, Galloway, and Orkney, was son of Sydserff of Ruchlaw, an ancient family, originally styled of that ilk, of whom one is a subscriber to Ragman's Roll, in 1296. (*Hist. and Crit. remarks to Ragman's Roll*, p. 32,—to be found in Nisbet's *Heraldry*, Vol. II.) The family of Ruchlaw is still extant in Haddington, their original seat. The subject of this note was tutor to the first Earl of Traquair, a nobleman who rose to the dignity of

High Treasurer of Scotland, and whose name is intimately connected with the history of his times, (Crawford's *Officers of State*, 406.) Sydserff's subsequent promotion in the church, may have been principally owing to his connexion with this distinguished person ; to whose interests he under every circumstance remained firmly attached. (Baillie's *Letters*, I. 51—2.) He became a clergyman ; and his first appointment in the church was in Edinburgh, his charge being that of the College Church, which he held for a short time conjunctly with Henry Rollock, nephew to the principal. He early imbibed those Arminian principles which were so obnoxious to the great body of the Scottish people, and became subservient to all the illiberal and injudicious measures of Laud. The violence by which he was afterwards distinguished, he had begun to display ere he was invested with the mitre. Henry Charters, professor of divinity, having died in 1629, Sydserff and John Maxwell, (afterwards bishop of Ross,) endeavoured to get a person of Arminian doctrine, " who had glutted in all the erroures of that time," appointed his successor. This attempt was, however, opposed by Andrew Ramsay, Henry Rollock, and others, and was completely defeated : but Sydserff soon met with his reward. He was elevated to the See of Brechin, and soon afterwards (1634,) to that of Galloway. We have already spoken of him while he held this latter office. He seems not to have been more unpopular in Galloway than throughout the kingdom. " The bishop of Galloway was like to have received injury in Stirling : but the magistrates saw to him. In his return to Falkirk, the wives railed and stoned him with stones, and were some of them punished. Also at Dalkeith, upon Sunday, the wives so railed upon him, that the treasurer, [Lord Traquair, his former pupil,] put two of them in prison. The bishop is in great fear and danger." * * (Baillie,

I. 34.) This unpopularity arose in a great measure from his supposed leaning to popery, not from his high episcopal principles. He was supposed to wear upon his breast a crucifix of gold. "After some quarreling of him for his crucifix and clamours," some women attacked him on the streets of Edinburgh; and it was with difficulty he was rescued by Traquair and others out of their hands. (*Baillie*, I. 20.—*Guthrie's Memoirs*, 28.) A few doggrel stanzas on the bishops of Scotland, written while Sydserff was in Galloway, have been preserved among Wodrow's valuable *MS.* collections; and in them he is thus spoken of:—

"A papist thou art, Galloway; in heaven thou'lt never dwell;
Thy crooked feet and fiery head will cause thee march to hell:"

lines which, among other things, convey to us some idea of his personal appearance.

Sydserff was deposed and excommunicated by the Assembly of Glasgow in 1638. He then retired to England. He seemed to have attended the royal forces, hoping through them the restoration of his order in Scotland. (*Rutherford's Letters*, Part III. 53.) While in the south, he superintended the publication of a posthumous work, composed by his friend Dr William Forbes, the first bishop of Edinburgh; entitled, *Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae Controversiarum, de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum et Christo Mediatore, Eucharistia. Per Gulielmum Forbesium, S. T. D. et Epis. Edin. primum.* Lond. 1658. 8vo. To this work is prefixed a life of the author. The editor's designation is T. G. [Thomas, bishop of Galloway,] which Dr Irving has supposed to point out Dr Thomas Gale; (*Irving's Lives of Scottish Poets*, I. 138.) but that the opinion of this learned writer is erroneous, is evident from *Baillie*, who distinctly mentions Sydserff as the editor. (*Letters*, II. 426.) The life of Forbes is written with considerable elegance. Sydserff had preached Forbes' Funeral ser-

mon. (*Stevenson*, I. 125.) Forbes, it may be mentioned, was, like Sydserff, suspected of popery. (*Burnet's Hist. of his own times*, I. 17.) The only other instance in which we find him in the character of an author, is in *The Muses' Welcome*, where are two short Latin poems, bearing the signature of *Thomas Synserfius*.

On the restoration Sydserff was the only surviving bishop in Scotland, and expected to be elevated to the primacy. But the base conduct of Sharp had given him paramount claims; and the subject of this note was nominated to the See of Orkney. "He lived," says Burnet, "little more than a year after his translation. He had died in more esteem, if he had died a year before it." (*Ib. ib.* 191.) "He was, after all," says the same author, "a very learned and good man; but strongly heated in those matters, * * of which I know Sydserff made great acknowledgements in his old age." (*Ib. ib.* 33.)

Sydserff married a daughter of John Byres of Coates, "late dean of guild, a prime counsellor, and good patriot." (*Crawford*, 115.) He had a large family; of whom one was a physician, another married to the representative of the ancient family of Kilkerran, and a third was the author of the first newspaper that this country could boast of. This paper was called *Mercurius Caledonijs; comprising the affairs in the agitation in Scotland, with a survey of foreign intelligence*. It was a small 4to of eight pages; was published weekly; and extended only to ten numbers. It was begun on the 31st of December 1660, and terminated on the 28th of March 1661.

It was, in truth, the first paper of really Scottish origin; though Cromwell had some years before printed a newspaper. This celebrated man carried a printing press with him; and through Christopher Higgins, whom he brought to Scotland for the express purpose, he printed at Leith in 1652, *A*

Diurnal of some passages and affairs; and in 1653, *Mercurius Politicus*. The last was first printed at Leith; but afterwards at Edinburgh. It continued till the Restoration, when it was changed into *Mercurius Publicus*. At the Revolution, and for ten years afterwards, there was not, it may be stated, a newspaper printed in Scotland; but at the union we could boast of no fewer than three. (Chalmers's *Life of Ruddiman*, 117—9. Lond. 1794, 8vo.)

NOTE F. Page 154.

“ *The humble petition of Galloway, to the Reverend Commission of Edinburgh.*

“ Wee heareing of the determination of the late commission held at Edinburgh, for the transplantation of Maister Samuel Rutherfoord, but of the full perswasion wee have of yor zeale to God's honour and wisdome, to see what may best promote the gospell of Christ in this land, have renewed our humble supplication of the reteining of Maister Samuel in this countrie, being hereinto induced by many weightie reasons; as first, the weaknesse of the ministerie having to doe with a mightie and prevailing faction of papistes and enemies to reformation, who are animated and stird up by the daylie resort and flocking of Jesuites, and semmary priestes, in such numbers that no pairt of this kingdome is obnoxious to the like opposition, so that our pressing wants would provock your zeale, rather to provide some moe able men for this countrie, then to take from us so steedable ane helpe at such ane tyme. Second, hitherto God hathe blest his labores in this countrie with a good successe, so that wee ar confident they shall prove als profitable to the church his being in this countrie as any where else,

in regard that the discharge of his pastorall gift here, (which he cannot lay downe,) can lesse hinder him to profit the kirk by his penn, then if he were in a more eminent place. Third, The unanimous desyre and earnest entreatie of so many presbyteries and people of all sorts, doeth not a litle evidence his calling to remain. Fourth, The place where he is cannot be provyded if he be transported, the most pairt of his stipend being a voluntarie contribution, and the contract for his maintenance being made onlie to himself. Fifth, The place of his ministrie being the residence of a nobleman, and frequented by a daylie resort of people travelling through that pairt of Scotland to England and Ireland, requyres a man of eminent gifts. Sixth, His removall wil be a great discouragment to the ministers of the presbytair of Kirkcudbrig, where he lives. Seventh, The weaknes of Maister Samuel his bodie requyres a lesser charge then he hath alreadie. Lastlie, the commission would seriouslie ponder what may be the consequences of greiving and discouraging such a considerable province as Galloway at such a tyme; lyk as Nithisdayle being countrymen to us, and pestered with a multitud of papistis, doth joyne with us in this same supplication.

“That ye would consider the premisses in tending this estat of our poore kirk, and your answer.”

To this petition are adhibited the signatures of the most eminent land-holders and clergymen in Galloway, with some belonging to Dumfries-shire, but want of room compels me reluctantly to omit them. The number amounts in all to ninety-five, not two hundred, as inadvertently stated in the text.

“We, the elderschip and parraishinerie of ye parraishin of Anweth, UNTO your reverend and godlie wisdomes, humblie meins and supplicates, that whereas, we are credibilie informed, that this reverend seat is to transport our pastor, Maister Samuel

Rutherford, minister at Anweth, we most humblie and submissivelie intreatis you in our Lord Jesus, to tak to your godlie and reverend serious consideration ye pressing and urging reasones in ye contraire that concernes our soules most neirlie, as first, at ye entrie of ye said Maister Samuell, our soules were under that miserable extreame femine of ye word, that we had onlie ye puir help of an sermone everie second Sabbath, by reasone of ane most inconvenient unione with uther twa kirkis, and ye want of ane steipand, except onlie twa hundreth merkis Scottis, for ye whilk ye said Maister Samuell has served ye cuir thir ellevin yeares by gane, rather do we sie anie possibilitie for ye present help of ane provisione to ane minister, except that they serve onlie for ye said twa hundreth merkis, and that in respect of ye pupillaritie and minoritie of my Lord Kenmor, wha has ye richt of ye vicareg teindes of ye said parrachin furth whereof his predecessors wer ordaint by ye commissioners of ye place, onlie to pay ye ministeris serving the cuir at ye foresaides united kirkis, the sowme of ane hundreth merkes yerelie. And my Lord Kirkcudbright, who is patrone of ye said kirk of Anweth, and has richt to ye personeg teindes thereof, was ordained by ye saidis commissioners of ye place, to pay ane uther hundreth merks to ye saidis minister, who is now furth of ye countrie, and no valuatione used for ye said parrachin, sua that their can be no way fund for more steipand to anie minister if ours be removed, but onlie ye saidis twa hundreth merkis yeirlie; sua if your godlie wisdomes sall remove our pastor, we have no hopes ever to get ane, whilk we cannot bot think a more intollerable and pressing bondage on our soules then was uset against us be the transcendent and lawles tirranie of ye late prelatis who depryved and confyned our pastor fra us six quarteris of ane yier, dureing whilk space no sound of ye word of God, was hard in our kirk.

Secundlie, whereas it is objected that ye place is obscure, it can no wayis be attempted so, in respect, first, that it is ye place of ye residence of my Lord Kenmor, ye prym and most eminent man for power and commandement in these boundis, as also ye kirk is cituat on ye hie way betwixt England and Ireland, where many and divers strangeris of ye thrie kingdomes repairis, and are herearers for ye most pairt all ye seasonis of ye yeir, and also lyes neir to Nythisdaill, where thair are manie retractoris, recusantis, and papistis, moe nor in anie pairt of ye kingdome. And third reasone, we are daylie witness of his waiknes and bodlie infirmitie, so that he will not be fund able to subsist in ane greater charg as himself knowis and can testifie. Fourthlie, It hath pleased God so to evidence his calling heir by his blessing upon his laboures among us, ye consequence whereof, we find to be ane mutuall union of our heartis betwixt him and us ; but of the consideration of the forsaidis reasones, we most humblie entreatis your reverend and godlie wisdom in ye bowellis of Jesus Christ, that ye wald not depryve us of sic ane comfortable instrument wherewith ye lord hath blessed us, least in so doing ye sequell of this reverend Assemblie, whilk is ye joy and praiss to God of this whole church, be turned to us into ye mater of bitter grieff. And your godlie and reverend wisdomes answer we humblie beseik.

Johnne gordoun of Cardness.

Jon. Gordoun.

Johne Gordoun.

William m'culloch of ardwell.

Wm. gordoune.

Johne m'conchie.

william m'conchi.

Johne Pringle [of Bardarroch.]

Johne Bell off hentoune.

Rot. gordone.

Robert Gordoun.
Robert corbie.
James Gordoun.
Robert m'cord.
James Walker.
Johne Walker."

In addition to these autographs, there are appended 172 names of persons not able to write, but with their hand at the pen, assisted by James Gordon, Notary.—The original copies of these petitions have been preserved by Wodrow in his valuable *MS.* collections. See Vol. LXII. fol. articles 53 and 54, Advocates' Library.

NOTE G. Page 163.

The church of Anwoth, which, as previously mentioned, was built for Rutherford in 1626, or early the subsequent year, still remains. A new parish church has been recently built, but the heritors, much to their honour, have preserved the ancient venerable building, and have erected the new edifice at the distance of about 250 yards from the old, on a piece of ground liberally presented to the heritors for that purpose, by Alexander Murray of Broughton, Esq. Rutherford's kirk, which is of a barn-like appearance, is one of the smallest and most humble we have seen, the length being 64 feet, 7 inches, the width 18 feet, 3 inches, the side walls only 10 feet, and being calculated to hold not above 250 sitters, exclusive of small galleries which are of comparatively recent erection. The pulpit is that out of which the celebrated subject of these pages preached. It is of oak, so perforated that it is probable it had been used for some purpose previously to its being converted to the sacred use which it has so long served. Several of the seats are of the same wood, and most of those that are so, are embellish-

ed with carving. Two may be mentioned, one bearing the date of 1631, the other of 1633,—a proof that the church had been erected some time before the seating of it had been completed. The former of these was that of the ancient family of Bell of Hinton or Arkland, and bears the initials J. B. The latter has the letters J. W. carved on it above the representation of the family arms. These initials must refer to John or James Walker; persons of whom I know nothing but that their names appear among the signatures of *The Petition of Anwoth* in 1639.—The church bell is said to have been a present from Lady Kenmure. Tradition bears that it had been previously used at Rusco Castle as a dinner-bell; a thing rendered probable from its dimensions, namely, 11 inches in diameter, and 13 inches high.

Bushy-Bield, the house in which Rutherford lived at Anwoth, and which, as the name imports, stood in a sheltered situation surrounded with wood, continued standing till the last year, when it was pulled down. It was of a baronial character, and was not, it is probable, built for Rutherford, but had previously been the residence of a gentleman. It never was in the glebe, and the farm on which it was situated is now the property of Mr Murray of Broughton.

A walk close by, which Rutherford was accustomed to frequent, for the purposes of meditation and study, is still denominated *Rutherford's walk*. It was here also, as tradition bears, where he recognized Archbishop Usher, having overheard him engaged in prayer on behalf of the people of his diocese. (Vide Note D.)

There is another tradition connected with this period that cannot be passed over in silence. Between the church of Anwoth and the village of Skyreburn, there is a level piece of ground on the farm of Mossrobin, where the people were wont to

assemble after sermon on the Lord's day, and play at foot-ball; a practice which Rutherford is said not to have denounced and condemned from the pulpit merely, but, following them to the scene of their amusement, solemnly to have reproved them there, calling on the objects around him, particularly three large stones, to witness between them and him, that, however they might continue to behave, he had done his duty. Two of these stones still remain, and are known by the name of *Rutherford's witnesses*. The history of the removal of the third is curious, and savours much of superstitious feelings that have not yet entirely disappeared. A person employed in building a fence, wished to avail himself of these stones, when a fellow-labourer remonstrated with him on the subject, and warned him of the danger of laying a sacrilegious hand on objects so sacred. This warning he scornfully disregarded; and he removed one of them, uttering expressions little respectful to the earnest piety which had given them distinction. The result is said to have been such as had been feared. The man, soon after, came to a violent end, which was viewed as a judgment from heaven, in consequence of the unhallowed and profane act of which he had been guilty. One report says, that the person, having declared, in answer to the warning he received, that he would remove the stone ere he broke his fast, was choked with the first mouthful he endeavoured to swallow. The tradition, in one or other of these shapes, is invariably believed. The people of Anwoth still hold these *witnesses* in the deepest veneration, as indeed they do every thing connected with the name and history of Rutherford.

NOTE H. Page 318.

Want of room will not admit of the insertion of

Rutherford's will at full length, but the following is the substance of it. He leaves "Jean Makmath, his well-beloved spous," his sole and only executrix. He ratifies and confirms in her favour a bond of 5000 merks, which had been entered into in the year 1657; and he assigns to Agnes, his only surviving child, 3000 merks, of which the interest was in the meantime to go to the mother for the education and support of her daughter. He leaves 100 merks to the poor of St Andrew's; he commits the care of reviewing his MSS. to some friends; which were to be printed or not as they should determine.

The sums mentioned in the will, however, seem not to have been realized. The following was the state of his property; "his books were estimat to 1800 lib. Item, the utinceills and domicills of his hous, with the abruizliaments of his bodie, all estimat to 200 lb.

"Summa of the Inventarie 2000 lb.

"Debts awand to the dead:

"In the first ther was addebtit to him as principall of the New College his stipend cropt 1661, 5 ch. victuall qrof the qualities following to wit, 18 bolls wheat at 9 lib. the boll, inde 162 lib. 30 bolls beir at 6 lib, 13s. 4d, the boll, inde 200 lib; 32 bolls oats at 5 lib, 13s. 4d. the boll, inde 81 lib. 13s. 4d. Item of silver rent 400 lib.

"Summa of the said debts 923 lib. 13s. 4d.

"Summa of the inventarie and debts, 2923 lib. 13s. 4d."

For a copy of his will, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr Lee, who obtained it from the commissary register of St Andrew's.—"Jeane Mackmath, relict of Mr Samuel Rutherford, provost of the New College, and one of the ministers here, gave to the session L. 66, 16s. left by him to the use of the poor." (*Session Records*, 11th April 1661.)

NOTE I. Page 328.

“ If your worthie father, who walked with God in his generation, were to seek somewhat of you ; if your choice and christian mother were to beg a favour of you ; nay, if God himself were to seek somewhat of you ; if Christ were asking a recompence and satisfaction for all the travel of his soul, of what do you think it would be ? Sure it would be to persuade and beseech you to study to be a christian, to converse with God, to keep yourself in his love, to be in his company when ye are alone, and to be alone with him while ye are in other’s company. Could ye grieve and make sad the heart of your now glorified father ? could ye take pleasure to bring down the head of your worthy mother with sorrow to the grave, by refusing to do this ? Nay, could you prove so cruel to your own immortal soul as to give God and Christ the refusal, by walking in the ways of your own heart ? will ye make no other return to all those sweet invitations, to all those serious exhortations, and to all those loving entreaties, but this, I have loved my idols, and after them I will go ? Oh ! let your soul abhor the very thought of this. Oh ! consider what an excellent privilege, what a high dignitie, and how desirable a thing it is to walk with God, to be daily in his company, to have liberty of pouring out your heart, and laying open your desires before him, and then to have him opening up these thoughts of love and good-will to your soul, which lay hid in his heart from all eternity ! Consider this, I say, and sure it will be as bonds and nets to your soul, and put you under a happy arrest and desirable impossibility of walking in the ways of sin and of sense.”

“ Remember that the honouring of parents is the first command with promise, importing that God takes special notice of the carriage of children to-

wards their parents, to punish the disobedient remarkably, and to reward obedience observably. Beware that ye put not your worthy mother to sigh and weep to God for the stubbornness of her daughter, for ye cannot be more cruel to yourself, since thereby ye engage God, when he hath comforted her over all her sorrows, and wiped all tears from her eyes, to give you sorrow of heart, and fill your soul with anguish."

The following extract is of a different and a more interesting kind.

"Learn wisdom at my folly. Oh! with how much shame and sorrow may I reflect on my little profit, by what I saw he did! It may be that he who multiplies to pardon will forgive this sin, but sometimes I have thought, if I should miss heaven, next to the face of an angry God, the most terrible and least sufferable sight imaginable, would be the sight of your father and mother's face, sitting as assessors to the righteous judge, and applauding to my condemnation for not having learned at them to walk with God, who walked to my conviction as heires of the grace of life. Oh! how many times have I been convinced by observing them, of the evil of unseriousness with God, and unsavouriness in discourse, which is so universal an evil amongst professors! They spoke and walked as those who had spoken with God, and who had heard him speak, and as persons who were by aim to speak to him, and so were constrained to watch carefully lest they did any thing which in their address to him might wound their faith, or weaken their confidence; whereas most of us walk at that random, as if we had never spoken to God, or were never to speak to him, or at least were little solicitous whether any thing stood up between us and him, to hinder our prayers from ascending, or to hide his face from us."

The originals of these letters may be found in Wodrow's *MSS.* Jac. 5. I. II.

NOTE K. Page 328.

“ Chieslys are descended of common people, in the parish of Quothquhan, [now annexed to Liberton,] in Clydesdale. A farmer of that name bred John Chiesly his son a scholar, and he came to be minister of Quothquhan, his native parish. He married Rachel Carmichael, daughter to Walter Carmichael of Park, by whom he had John Chiesly of Carswell, who was made a knight by King Charles I. and was a great incendiary in the time of the troubles, and a great complayer with the English, though he was overlooked after the king's return, and met with no other suffering than a short imprisonment, which was thought strange, considering how deeply he had been involved in the guilt of the times; and though he acquired a considerable estate, it melted away, and nothing of it remains with his posterity, Mr John. The minister's second son was Walter Chiesly, a merchant and a brewer in Edinburgh, of whom I have heard a very good character for honesty and integrity. His wife was a descendant of Mr Tod, who was provost of Edinburgh, by whom he had that Chiesly of Dalry, who having conceived a deadly malice against that great ornament of our country, and the oracle of the law, Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath, Lord President of the Session, in the spring of 1689, shot him dead coming from church, at the very entry of his own house in the Lawnmarket at Edinburgh, for which he was deservedly hanged and quartered, and his body hung in chains on the gallows, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh. The lands of Dalry, which his father purchased, went quickly from his son, so that there is none of this name that has now, so far as I know, one foot of land in the kingdom, so that the common dystich may be well applied to this people,

“ Reditur in nihilum, qui fuit ante nihil.”

(Crawfurd's *MS. Baronage*, Adv. Lib. art. *Chiesly*.)

William Chiesly, the husband of Agnes Rutherford, was, I think, a younger son of Walter Chiesly, mentioned in the foregoing extract. Sir Robert Chiesly, lord provost of Edinburgh, was another son. And I regard John Chiesly of Dalry, the person who assassinated Lord President Lockhart, as their elder brother. William Chiesly was not a man of fair character: nor, indeed, with the exception of Walter Chiesly, of whom Crawford speaks so favourably, does any of the name seem to have been men of respectability. (Fountainhall's *Decisions*, as quoted in the text. Fountainhall's *Notes*, *apud ann.* 1698.)

NOTE L. Page 337.

The following is a list of Rutherford's works.

I. *Exercitationes Apologeticae pro Divina Gratia, in quibus vindicatur doctrina orthodoxa de divinis decretis, et Dei tum aeterni decreti, tum gratiae efficacis operationis, cum hominis libertate consecratione et subordinatione amica. Adversus Jacobum Arminium ejusque assecclas et Jesuitas, imprimis vero Fran. Suarezium, Gabri. Vasquezium, Lodiv. Molinam, Leonard. Lessium, Pet. Fonseca, et Robertum Bellarminum. Amsteredami, 1636, 12mo. pp. 544.*

II. *A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Pauls Presbyterie in Scotland, or a modest and brotherly dispute of the government of the Church of Scotland, wherein our discipline is demonstrated to be the true Apostolick way of Divine truth, and the arguments on the contrary are friendly dissolved, the grounds of separation, and the independency of particular congregations, in defence of ecclesiasticall Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies, are examined and tryed. Lond. 1642. 4to. pp. 326.*

III. A Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, January 31, 1643. Daniel vi. 26. Lond. 1644, 4to. pp. 64.

IV. A Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Lords, the 25th day of June 1645. Luke vii. 22—5. Mark iv. 38—40. Matt. viii. 26. Lond. 1645. 4to. pp. 66.

V. Lex, Rex; the Law and the Prince; a discourse for the just prerogative of king and people, containing the reasons and causes of the most necessary defensive wars of the kingdom of Scotland, and of their expedition for the ayd and help of their dear brethren of England. In which their innocency is asserted, and a full answer is given to a seditious pamphlet, entitled, *Sacro-sancta Regum Majestas*, under the name of J. A. but penned by Jo. Maxwell, the excommunicate P. Prelat, with a scriptural confutation of the ruinous grounds of W. Barclay, H. Grotius, H. Arnisaeus, Ant. de Domi, P. Bishop of Spalato, and of other late Anti-magistraticall royalists; as the author of Ossorianum, D. Fern, E. Symmons, the Doctors of Aberdeen, &c. in XLIV questions, Lond. 1644. 4to. pp. 467.

VI. The Due Right of Presbyteries, or a Peaceable Plea for the government of the Church of Scotland; wherein is examined, 1. The way of the Church of Christ in New England, in brotherly equality, and independency, or co-ordination, without subjection of one church to another. 2. Their apology for the said government; their answers to thirty and two questions are considered. 3. A treatise for a church government is discussed. 4. The arguments of Mr Robinson in his justification of separation are discovered. 5. His treatise called the People's Plea for the exercise of prophecy is tried. 6. Diverse late arguments against presbyterian government and the power of synods are discussed, the power of the prince in matters ecclesiastical modestly con-

sidered, and divers incident controversies resolved. Lond. 1644, 4to. pp. 458.

VII. The Tryal and Triumph of Faith, or an Exposition of the History of Christ's dispossessing of the daughter of the woman of Canaan. Delivered in sermons; in which are opened the Victory of Faith; the condition of those that are tempted; the excellency of Jesus Christ and Free Grace; and some speciall grounds and principles of Libertinisme, and Antinomian Errors, discovered. Lond. 1645. 4to. pp. 336.

VIII. The Divine Right of Church government and excommunication; or a Peaceable Dispute for the perfection of the Holy Scripture, in point of ceremonies and church government; in which the removal of the service-book is justified, the six books of Tho. Erastus, against excommunication, are briefly examined; with a vindication of that eminent divine Theod. Beza, against the aspersions of Erastus, the arguments of Mr William Pryn, Rich. Hooker, Dr Watson, Dr Jackson, Dr John Forbes, and the doctors of Aberdeen; touching will-worship, ceremonies, imagery, idolatory, things indifferent, an ambulatory government; the due and just power of the magistrate in matters of religion, and the arguments of Mr Pryn, in so far as they side with Erastus, are modestly discussed. To which is added a brief tractate of Scandal, with an answer to the new doctrine of the doctors of Aberdeen, touching Scandal. Lond. 1646. 4to. pp. 759.

IX. Christ dying and drawing to himself, or a survey of our Saviour in his soule-suffering, his lovelynesse in his death, and the efficacie thereof, in which some cases of soule-trouble in weake believers, grounds of submission under the absence of Christ, with the flowings and heightenings of free grace, are opened; delivered in sermons on the Evangel according to St John, cap. xii. verse 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33; where also are interjected

some necessary digressions for the times, touching divers errors of Antinomians, and a short vindication of the doctrine of Protestants, from the Arminian pretended universality of Christ's dying for all and every one of mankind; the morall and fained way of resistible conversion of sinners, and what faith is required of all within the visible church, for the want whereof many are condemned. Lond. 1647, 4to.

X. A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist, opening the secrets of Familisme and Antinomianisme, in the antichristian doctrine of John Saltmarsh and Will. Dee, the present preachers of the army now in England, and of Robert Town, Tob. Crisp, H. Denne, Eaton, and others; in which is revealed the use and spring of Antinomians, Familists, Libertines, Swenck-feldians, Enthysiasts, &c. The mind of Luther, a most professed opposer of Antinomians, is cleared, and diverse considerable points of law and the gospel, of the spirit and letter of the two covenants, of the nature of free grace, exercise under temptations, mortification, justification, sanctification, are discovered. Lond. 1648, pp. 593.

XI. A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience, tending to resolve doubts, moved by Mr John Godwin, John Baptist, Dr Jer, Dr Taylor, the Belgick Arminians, Socinians, and other authors contending for lawlesse liberty, or licentious toleration of sects and heresies. Lond. 1649, 4to. pp. 410.

XII. The Last and Heavenly Speeches, and Glorious Departure of John Gordoun, Viscount Kenmuir. Edin. 1649. 4to. pp. 30.

XIII. Disputatio Scholastica de Divina Providentia, variis praelectionibus, quod attinet ad summa rerum capita, tradita S. Theologiae Adolescentibus Candidatis in inclyta Academia Andreapolitana, in qua adversus Jesuitas, Arminianos, Socinianos,

de Dominio Dei, actione ipsius operosa circa peccatum, concursu primae causae, praedeterminatione et contenditur et decertatur. Adjectae sunt Disquisitiones Metaphysicae de Ente, Possibili, Dominio Dei in entia et non entia, et variae questiones quae ad uberiores et exquisitiorem Cognitionem Doctrinae de Providentia Divina imprimis conducunt. Edin. 1651. 4to. pp. 620.

XIV. The Covenant of Life opened ; or a Treatise of the Covenant of Grace, containing something of the nature of the Covenant of Works, the sovereignty of God, the extent of the death of Christ, the nature and properties of the Covenant of Grace, and especially of the covenant of suretyship or redemption between the Lord and his Son Jesus Christ, Infants' right to Jesus Christ, and the Seal of Baptisme ; with some practicall questions and observations. Edin. 1655. 4to. 368.

XV. A Survey of the Survey of that summe of church discipline, penned by Mr Thomas Hooker, late pastor of the church at Hartford upon Connecticut in New England, wherein the way of the churches of New England is now re-examined, arguments in favour thereof winnowed, the principle of that way discussed, and the reasons of most seeming strength and nerves removed. Lond. 1658. 4to. pp. 521.

XVI. Influences of the Life of Grace, or a Practical Treatise concerning the way, manner, and means of having and improving of spiritual dispositions, and quickening influences from Christ the Resurrection and the Life. Lond. 1659. 4to. pp. 438.

XVII. Joshua Redivivus, or Mr Rutherford's Letters, divided into two parts. The first containing those which were written from Aberdeen, where he was confined by a sentence of the High Commission, drawn forth against him, partly upon the account of his declining them, partly upon the account

of his non-conformitie. The second containing some which were written from Anwoth, before he was by the Prelats persecution thrust from his ministry; and others upon diverse occasions afterward, from St Andrew's, London, &c. Now published for all the people of God; but more particularly for those who are, or afterwards may be put to suffering for Christ and his cause; by a well-wisher to the work and people of God, 1664. 12mo. pp. 576. No printer's name, or place of publication given, but known to have been at Rotterdam, under the superintendence of Mr M'Ward.—A third part was afterwards added, containing 68 letters from Anwoth, Aberdeen, London, and St Andrew's.

XVIII. Examen Arminianismi, conscriptum et discipulis dictatum a doctissimo clarissimoque viro, D. Samuele Rhetorforte, SS. Theol. in Academia Scotiae Sanctandreana Doctore et Professore; recensitum et editum a Matthia Netheno, SS. Th. D. et Profess. Ultrajecti, 1668. 12mo. pp. 176.

This list of Rutherford's works does not contain his Testimony, printed after his death. In addition to the *Examen Arminianismi*, he left behind him various other manuscripts; which were thought so important, that after the Revolution, the General Assembly made repeated references to the commission of the church, "anent the revising and publishing" of them, (*Unprinted Acts of Assembly*, 1694, 1695, 1698.) But from some circumstance or other they were not published.

In the university library there is in MS. "Ane catachisme, containing the soume of Christian religion," ["by Mr Samuell Rutherford," written by another hand,] extending to 28 small quarto leaves. It is extremely simple and clear. It seems to have been written before the Westminster Shorter Catechism; and it is evident from the arrangement in

most places, and from some of the individual questions and answers, that his plan had been pretty amply adopted by that Assembly. It has one chapter "of the officemen and the power of Godis kirk."

Bound up with Rutherford's catechism is another by Mr Thomas Wylie, minister successively of Borgue, Mauchline, and Kirkcudbright. This little work is divided into short sections, each to be got on a Sabbath, and it includes thirty Sabbaths. It also bears a resemblance to the Westminster Catechism, but it is, if possible, more simple than either it or Rutherford's.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 320, line 17, of note, for *8vo.* read *4to.*

Rutherford obtained a bursary from the city of Edinburgh, 19th June 1618, towards the end of his first year's study. (*Town-Council Records.*) This circumstance proves nothing, except that he was thus enabled to prosecute his studies under greater facilities. Bursaries, we fear, have been given as often to the rich as the poor, and are seldom made use of, though such was their original destination, to promote indigent merit : they are in many cases bestowed on persons of comparative opulence, who happen to possess influence sufficient to obtain them.

The date of his graduation is the 14th July 1621. (*Register of Graduation.*)—I mentioned, (page 162,) that I did not know who succeeded him in the ministry of Anwoth. Nor have I yet discovered. William Dalglish was minister of the conjunct parish of Anwoth, Kirkdale, and Kirkmabreck, ere Anwoth became a distinct parochial charge at the induction of Rutherford. Isaac Paterson, before the time of Dalglish, was either minister of Anwoth separately, or, as I rather think, of the three united parishes. Oct. 20. 1637. *Geo. Patersoun haeres Mr. Isac Patersoun M. V. D. apud ecclesiam de Anwaght patru.* (*Inq. Ret. Gen.* 2331.)

I have already stated, (pp. 191, 324.) that Rutherford's second marriage took place at Edinburgh on

the 24th of March 1640. But "Mr Samuel Rutherford, and Jeane Mackmath," were contracted and proclaimed at St Andrew's, fully three weeks before that date, namely, on the 1st March 1640. (*Registers of St Andrew's.*)

Between the time of Rutherford's return from London and his death, he is repeatedly mentioned by Lamont, as officiating on fast-day and sacramental occasions, in some of the neighbouring parishes, particularly at Scoonie for Alexander Moncrieff, minister of that parish, a protestor, and a man altogether of congenial character. (*Chronicle*, 18, 40, 51, 72, 82, 158.)

"Such who knew Rutherford best," says Wodrow, "were in a strait whether to admire him most for his sublime genius in the school, and peculiar exactness in matters of dispute and controversy, or his familiar condescensions in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers in his time, or perhaps in any age of the church." (*History of the Church*, I. 77.) Livingstone, who knew him well, asserts that "he had most sharp piercing wit, and fruitful invention, and solid judgment." (*Characteristics*)

"He seems to have outdone himself as well as every body else in his admirable, and every way singular Letters, which, though jested upon by profane wits, because of some familiar expressions, yet will be owned of all who have any relish of piety, to contain such sublime flights of devotion, and to be fraughted by such massy thoughts, as loudly speak a soul united to Jesus Christ in the closest embraces, and must needs at once ravish and edify every serious reader." (Wodrow, *ut supra.*)

In reference to Rutherford's call to the parish of West Calder, the following particulars, (with which I have been kindly favoured by Dr Lee,) obtained from the Presbytery Records of St Andrew's, are interesting.—On the 14th of Sept. 1642, Andrew

Honeyman addressed a letter to the Presbytery of St Andrew's, stating, among other things relative to the subject of these pages, that he understood that Rutherford meant to avail himself of the act of transportability, obtained at the last General Assembly; that he had asked liberty of the Session of St Andrew's to do so; that the town of Lanark, and other places, were anxious to obtain his services; and that he had gone to Edinburgh with the view of coming to an arrangement with some of the places that were soliciting his removal. The Presbytery appointed James Wood immediately to repair to the capital, in order to use means, both with the commission of the Assembly, and with others interested in the business, to induce Rutherford to remain in his present charges, or at least to defer his making use of that act till the next meeting of the Assembly.

The call to the parish of Calder having meanwhile been presented to him, Andrew Honeyman is appointed (26th Oct.) to attend the Synod of Lothian, before which the business had necessarily to come, and to represent to that court "the great prejudice the kirk of Scotland would receive by his transportation, and to desire them earnestly to join with them for retaining the said Mr Samuel in his present charge at St Andrew's."

This application to the Synod was successful; for (9th Nov.) William Dalglish, minister of Cramond, and Andrew Honeyman, "compeared before the presbytery of St Andrew's, and shewed the concurrence of the provincial of Lothian, with their desires for retaining Mr Samuel Rutherford in his present charge, whereupon both presbytery, university, and town, did heartily thank them for their care and diligence, and embraced, [entreated,] the said Mr Samuel to abide here, whereunto he did agree."

Rutherford, towards the end of his days, must have been rendered still more unhappy from the circumstance that Sharp was appointed one of the

Masters of the New College in room of James Wood, who had been appointed principal of St Salvator's College. Sharp was inducted to the charge on the 22d of February 1661, about a month before Rutherford's death. This appointment must have been the more galling to Rutherford, as he had long and strenuously exerted himself to secure the nomination of William Raitt, then minister of Brechin, afterwards of Dundee; but being opposed by his colleague, Dr Colville, who was as anxious to obtain the elevation of the opposite candidate, and Sharp at that time possessing the greatest influence, Rutherford failed in accomplishing his object, and Sharp thus obtained the vacant office. (*Records of the Presbytery of St Andrew's, ut supra.*) On his induction, it may be mentioned, "Dr Colville had a short speich, and gave him the right hand of fellowship; and among other expressions this day, he said, *Satis est te esse Sharpium*," (Lamont's *Chronicle*, 165.)

The following is the list of Rutherford's family by his second wife. (*Register of Births, St Andrew's.*)

1641, February 25th, a daughter, Catherine, baptized by James Wood.

1642, June 27th, a son, John.

1643, July 31st, a son, Robert.

1645, August 17th, a daughter, Jean, baptized by James Wood.

1649, May 20th, a daughter, Agnes, [Mrs Chiesly.]

1651, March 2d, a son, Samuel.

1655, March 18th, a daughter, Margaret.

Robert Rollock was not merely principal of the university of Edinburgh, and professor of divinity; for "besides these charges, he preached weekly on the sabbath mornings in the East Kirk of St Giles; and the two last years of his life, he bare the whole burthen of one of the 8 ministers of the city." (*Craw. 45.*)

The only instance in which Patrick Sands, (who was the only lay-principal of the university,) appears as an author, is in *The Muses' Welcome*, where there are two Latin poems, in alternate Hexameter and Pentameter verse, bearing the signature of *Patricius Sandaeus*.

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